A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

VOLUME II

BY

RAJASEVASAKTA DEWAN BAHADUR
DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute Series.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

BY

Dr. S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR

A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

BY

Rajasevasakta
Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR,
Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India
Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission
Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

VOLUME II

PUBLISHED BY
Sri C. SAMBAIYA PANTULU, B.A.,
Commissioner, Tirumalai–Tirupati Devastanam
on behalf of
Tirumalai–Tirupati Devastanam Committee

Madras.

1941

For the statements made and the views expressed the author alone is responsible.

A HISTORY OF THE HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESA IN TIRUPATI

VOLUME II

श्री वेङ्कटाद्रि शृङ्गाग्र मङ्गलाभरणाङ्घ्रये ।
मङ्गलानां निवासाय श्रीनिवासाय मङ्गलम् ॥

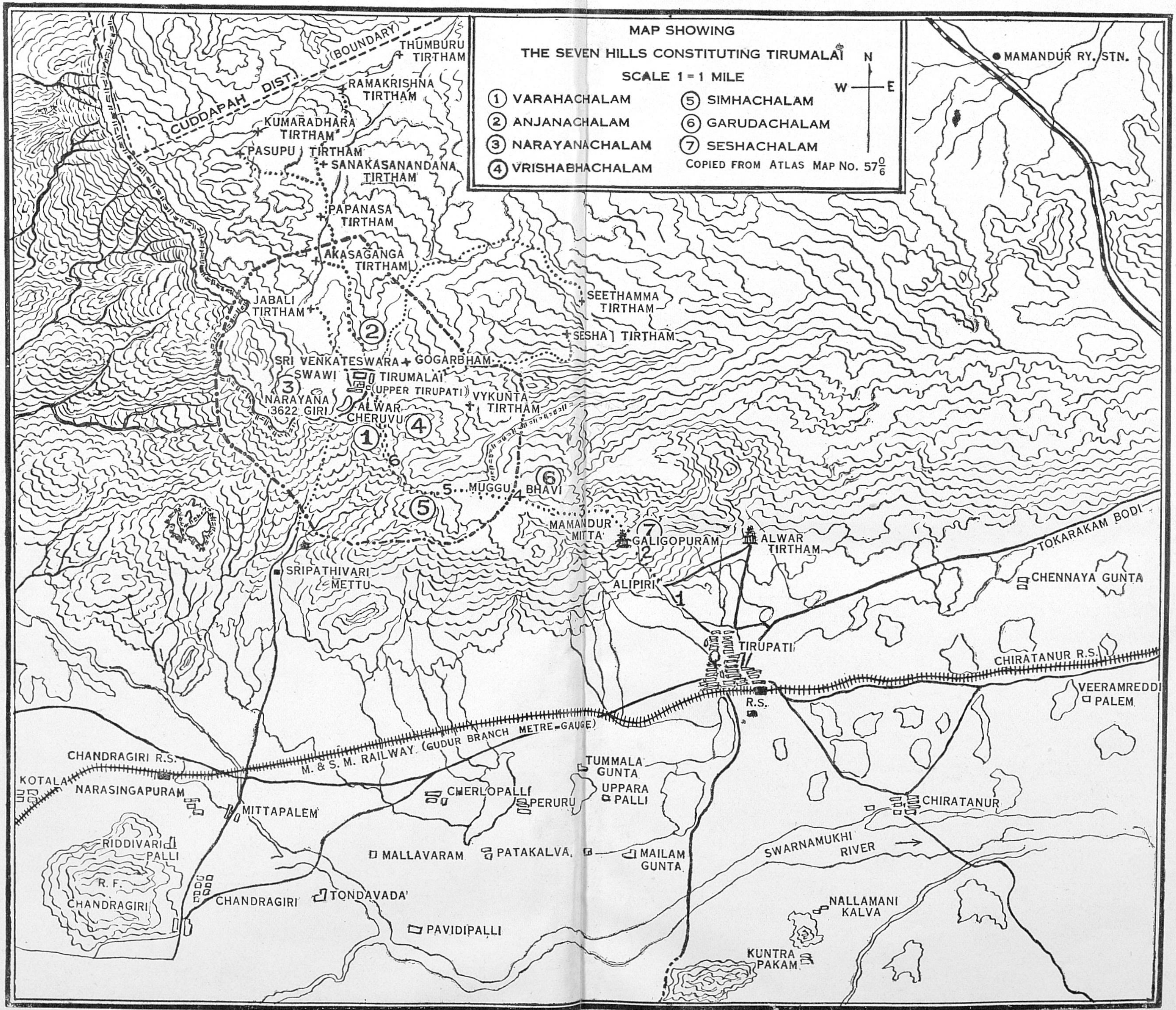
தேனோங்குசோலைத் திருவேங்கடமென்றும்
வானோங்கு சோலைமலை யென்றும்—தானோங்கு
தென்னரங்கமென்றுந் திருவத்தியூரென்றும்
சொன்னவர்க்குமுண்டோ துயர்.

PRINTED AT
ANANDA PRESS, MADRAS.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Vijayanagar Inscriptions of Sāḷuva Rule ...	1
II.	The Reign of Vīra Narasimharāya ...	82
III.	Tirupati under Krishṇadēvarāya ...	96
IV.	Inscriptions of the Reign of Krishṇadēvarāya ...	120
V.	The Vaishṇava Character of Tirupati under Vijayanagar ...	140
VI.	Tirupati and the later Śrī Vaishṇava Āchāryas ...	169
VII.	The Mādhva Āchārya Vyāsarāyasvāmi ...	191
VIII.	Tirupati during Achyutarāya's reign ...	200
IX.	Inscriptions of the reign of Achyutarāya ...	213
X.	Sādaśivarāya of Vijayanagar ...	249
XI.	Condition of Tirupati in Sadāśiva's reign ...	292
XII.	Inscriptions of Sadāśiva's successors ...	315
XIII.	The Vijayanagara Empire and Gōlkoṇḍa Invasions ...	335
XIV.	Mysore and Tirupati ...	374
XV.	Tirupati under Hindu Rule ...	390
XVI.	The character and organisation of the shrine ...	408
XVII.	Muhammadan penetration into the "Carnatic" ...	436
XVIII.	Śrīranga, Emperor of Vijayanagar ...	461
XIX.	The Carnatic under Gōlkoṇḍa ...	485
XX.	Carnatic Wars ...	506

Frontispiece



(To face Preface)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		Page.
I.	Map showing the seven hills constituting Tirumalai	Frontispiece.
II.	Pilgrim's Progress, the last stage up the stepway ...	6
III.	*Gōpura* of Sāḷuva Narasimha at the foot of the stepway ...	15
IV.	The Holy Shrine of Tirupati, first enclosure ...	16
V.	*Gāḷi gōpuram* ...	33
VI.	*Balipīṭha* and *Dvajasthamba* (altar and flagstaff) ...	49
VII.	An old stone maṇṭapa, one of the many that were built ...	72
VIII.	Emperor Krishṇadēvarāya with queen Chinnādēvi to his right and queen Tirumalādēvi to his left ...	110
IX.	Announcing Festival ...	128
X.	*Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa* ...	202
XI.	Ruined *gōpura* of Achyutarāyapuram, Tirupati ..	209
XII.	*Kipila Tīrtham*, later *Āḻvār Tīrtham*	216
XIII.	Ornamented Pillars in the Royal pavilion ...	280

XIV.	Emperor Tirumala and his queen...	308
XV.	Emperor Venkaṭa I ...	310
XVI.	Pavilion of Emperor Venkaṭa I ...	321
XVII.	Maṭla Ananta and his parents ...	329
XVIII.	The gateway of Maṭla Ananta, Tirupati ...	330
XIX.	Pavilion of Emperor Tirumalarāya	424
XX.	Tirupati and its surroundings ...	506

PREFACE

THE printing of this Volume has taken a much longer time than was anticipated, and I am really pleased to see the book out at last. It has delayed more than six months beyond the original programme, and this delay is due to various causes, some of them altogether beyond our control. It is matter for great gratification that the work has at last been completed, and is before the public. The story begins almost from the beginning of the Christian era, and comes up to the commencement of the 19th century, when this part of the country passed into the hands of the British from the Nawab of Arcot. The British records relating to the period after this have not been thrown open to the public, and they seem to be the only records bearing on the subject. There seem to be but few other sources of reliable information for the period. If there should be any forthcoming, efforts will be made to issue a supplement.

One important feature of the image representing the deity in the shrine has exercised the minds of people interested, and a supplementary note to Volume I points out authority from the

Mahābhārata for the composite Śiva-Vishṇu character of the image. Having regard to the importance of it, the note is set down below. It is matter for great gratification indeed that the work has reached completion and is now available to the public as a whole.

MĀŚI-MAKHAM,
1941 (13-3-1941),
Mylapore, Madras.

S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR.

CHAPTER I.

VIJAYANAGAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SALUVA RULE.

The inscriptions of this period collected in Volume II of the Dēvastānam inscriptions so far published count up to thirty inscriptions without date, and the far larger number of the total, are grants of various kinds by private individuals; but there are a certain number here definitely referable to the ruler himself, or to one or other of his more important officers, thus indicating clearly that the ruler himself felt interested in the work of the temple personally, in addition to the administrative interest he was bound to take as ruler of the locality. No. 4 of this Volume is the first document in which the name Sāḷuva Narasimha occurs. The document comes from the hill temple and is of date Ś. 1378 (12th September 1456 A. D.). The record is as usual an agreement between the *stānattār* and the donor. In this case, the donor being the ruler of the locality, his name occurs first and then follows 'the *stānattār*' of the temple, as against the usual practice of the agreement beginning with the *stānattār*. The titles given are the ordinary well-known titles of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Mēdinī-Mīsara Gaṇḍa*, *Kaṭṭāri*

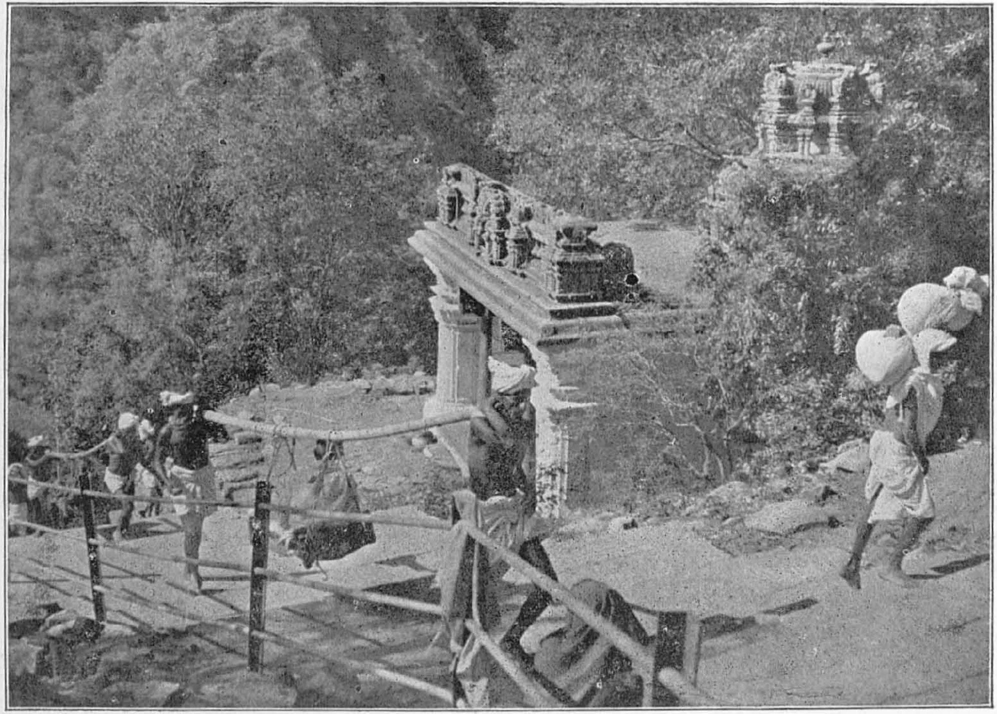
Sāḷuva, son of Sāḷuva Guṇḍayyadēva Mahārāja. The record refers to the grant of Ālipuram as a *sarvamānya* made by the ruler to the temple in former days. The village Ālipuram belongs to the Vaikunṭha Vaḷanāḍu in the Chandragirirājya. The agreement now is how the income from this was proposed to be spent. The *Bhanḍāra* was to collect all the *Svarṇadāyam* (dues in money) and *Dānyavarga* (revenues paid in kind), and a food-service was to be rendered to the God, at dawn every day, as king's service. The *prasāda*, that is, the part of the food-service generally given over to the donor, in this case was to be given over to Kandāḍai Rāmānujayya, the disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, who had been appointed superintendent of a feeding house (*Rāmānujakūṭa*), constructed by himself as a piece of charity. This Rāmānujayya was to make use of the food for distribution among the Śrī Vaishṇavas in this charity house. The next document coming into this group is No. 8 dated Ś. 1380 (11th February 1459). This records the payment of one thousand gold pieces into the temple treasury in order that there may be a food-service in the name of the donor Kampayya Dēva Mahārāja, son of Ahōbala Rāja, apparently an officer under the Sāḷuva ruler. The thousand gold pieces were to be applied apparently for some work connected with the tank in Tirupati;

the interest on the amount however, was to be applied for a daily food-service to the God. The purpose for which the amount is deposited, namely, for the use of the tank at Tirupati is, as has been explained in a few previous cases, the grant of money for the purposes of reclamation, or bringing into cultivation, of lands by improving irrigation, so that uncultivated lands might come into cultivation, and the service intended was to be rendered from the new income thus accruing. We shall find that this has become more or less an established practice, not merely in the case of gifts in large amounts by the ruler himself and his officers, which perhaps may be regarded as natural, but even in the case of small gifts by private individuals. It seems to have been one consistent effort at improving the agricultural resources of the country, commuting a part of the income thereof as charity for various services in the temple. No. 16 is again a grant by one Eṟṟamarāja, son of Timma Rāja with titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaradēva*, *Hātimalla*, *Allibhīma* of Chāḷukya Nārāyaṇacchēri. The amount that was deposited, which is not mentioned in this case, was to be applied for bringing an irrigation channel with its head at Koṟṟamangalam, a temple village, to bring the water for irrigating lands on the border of the village Taṇḍalam. This channel from the

river was to be called Tiruvēngaḍanāthan channel. The interest on the capital was to be applied for two food-services, one by day and one by night. The gift was to be perpetual. It will be noticed at once, from the details given of this grant, that the main purpose was to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation by executing public works, and this appears to have been done through the temple where temple lands were concerned, and, from the produce of the lands thus reclaimed, the usual interest amount on the capital was to be set apart for the purpose of the temple service, so that it may perhaps even be said that the main purpose is the reclamation of land and bringing it into cultivation; and one purpose, a comparatively subordinate purpose perhaps, is the making of the charity gift to the temple, as the temple itself has its own function in connection with these improvements. No. 17 similarly comes from the hill-shrine, and is of date Ś. 1385 (18th October 1463 A. D). It is a grant by Sāḷuva Timma Rājadēva, Mahārāja Uḍaiyār, son of Sāḷuva Guṇḍarāja Uḍaiyār with the usual Sāḷuva titles. He was the elder brother of Sāḷuva Narasimha. The document shows the respect due to the royal family by putting his name first. This is a gift, so far as this is concerned, for four daily food-services in the name of the donor, and the manner of making

the donation is clearly stated here. This Sāḷuva Timma paid, from out of his pocket, the gold, the amount of which is not specified, which was to be applied for constructing a canal with its head at a village callad Śirupāḍi. The water was to be brought for purposes of irrigating the fields on the border of the temple village Avilāli. From the income out of this, the amount of interest upon this capital was to be utilised for four food-services in the early morning. The portion of the food that is generally given to the donor, was in this case, to be applied in part for feeding the Dāsa who was keeping a flower-garden as a charity gift of Timmarāja Uḍaiyār. The other three parts were to be spent by the *stānattār* as it suited them. No. 18 dated Ś. 1385 (18th January 1464) is one by Sāḷuva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, with the usual Sāḷuva titles. He is described here as the brother of *Periya Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja*, and as governor of Chandragirirājya. The purpose of the document was a daily service of food in his name to Tiruvēngaḍam-Uḍaiyān. The second item of his benefaction was providing for the God being taken to the pavilion at the front gateway of the temple built by him, on the occasions of the festivals of flag-hoisting, and of the *Krittikā* in the *Kārttika* month. No. 3 is the institution of a *Pavitrōtsavam* (purification

ceremony) in the month of Āvaṇi (July-August). The funds for this were found by him by making a new irrigation canal for the village of Iḷamaṇḍayam from the border of the village Tūkkippākkam. Similarly another channel was made for the benefit of Vikramādittamangalam. No. 4 refers to the village of Ēlambākkam in the Chandragirirājya which he had made over as a *Dēvadānam* (*Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*). The first two villages were temple villages, and the third one was given as a temple village. The revenues in gold and grain accruing as a result of these works of his, were to go into the temple treasury, from out of the interest whereof provision was to be made for the food-services. The details of the provision are made in full. The smallest articles required, particularly for the *Pavitrōtsava*, are recited in full. One share of the food after the distribution was to be given to the Śrī Vaishṇavas residing in a flower-garden maintained in his name. It must be noted that the officer who apparently belonged to the Sāḷuva family also is described as the governor of Chandragirirājya. He is said to have built the thousand-pillared *manṭapa* in front of the temple, which exists even now, and made the provision for the festivals that he wanted to, by applying the capital from out of his pocket. He constructed productive works, from the income



PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, THE LAST STAGE UP THE STEPWAY

(To face page 6)

out of which the annual expenditure should be incurred. No. 19 Ś. 1385 (18th January 1464) is again a benefaction by an officer who is called Sāḷuva Rāmachandra Rāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja with the usual Sāḷuva titles. This makes provision for a daily food-service, for which he got a canal dug in the temple village of Avilāli. When lands under this canal should have been successfully brought under cultivation, the income from the land was to be paid into the treasury as usual, from the amount whereof the expenses of the daily service should be met. No. 21 Ś. 1386 (5th May 1464), is by a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* called Timmayya-dēva Chōḷa Mahārāja, son of Kuvalaguṇṭa Muttam Tirumalarāja. He was also probably an officer in the state service. He similarly constructed an irrigation channel in the temple village of Pāḍi with its head on the border of this village, and taking it down to the border of Koṟṟamangalam. He also made over another village in the Paḍaivīḍu Rājya for the purpose of food-service on the *Parvas* (the new moon and the full moon days). No. 23 Ś. 1387 (14th April 1465) is by a Sāḷuva Parvata Rāja, son of Sāḷuva Rāja; probably Sāḷuva Rāja was a cousin of Sāḷuva Narasimha. He made provision for four daily food-services to the God in the hill shrine. As usual, he found the funds for a canal with

its head on the north-west borderland of the temple village of Pāḍi, and, carrying it across diagonally to the south-east borderland of the village, brought fresh lands into cultivation. From this addition to the revenue, the expenses were to be met. One part of the food given over to the donor usually, was to be made over for the purpose of keeping in repairs the pavilion that he had himself constructed on the way up the hill at a place called *Muḻangāl-Muṟippān* (knee-breaker), and for the water-shed there which he maintained in his name, as also for the expenses of a garden maintained by one Gōpayya and for the maintenance of the tank for growing water-lily maintained by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the owner of the Rāmānujakūṭa in the Sannidhi Street. These arrangements were to be perpetual as others. No. 25 of Ś. 1388 (24th March 1467) is an important document and relates to four daily food offerings in the name of Śrī Raṇgāmba, queen of Sāḷuva Narasinga. Of course, as in such cases, the name of the queen is mentioned first, that of the *stānattār* following, instead of the other way as usual. The income for this is to be derived from the produce of the land brought under cultivation as a result of the canal that Sāḷuva Narasimha himself brought into the temple village, Ādityanpalli from the borderland of Māvaṇḍūr. This was a percolation

channel (*kaśakkāl*). One unit of the food usually given to the donor, was to be given to the person who maintained the garden in her name in the immediate neighbourhood of the garden of Narasinga himself. This was to go on perpetually also. Nos. 27 and 28 of Ś. 1382 (15th October, 1467) refer to Tammayyadēva Mahārāja, son of Guṇḍamarāja Vallabharāya with the title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and *Hosabhirudara Gaṇḍa*. The income was, as usual, to be derived from the lands brought under cultivation by means of a new irrigation channel with its head on the borders of the temple village Pāṇaham, and brought into the village Malayakkōnpaṭṭu. As in these cases generally, the expenses were to be met from the income when the new lands began to yield and pay revenues to the temple treasury. No. 30 of Ś. 1389 (27th December 1467) is again a donation of Sāḷuva Narasinga himself. It comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine in Lower Tirupati and is a document in Kanarese. The document is in popular Kanarese, and provides for certain services in the Gōvindarāja shrine and in Tirupati, for which Sāḷuva Narasimha granted two villages in the Paḍaivīḍu Rājya, and a certain number of taxes, etc., which were being paid into the royal treasury from a third village below the tank at Tirupati. The villages are named Mupaduvēṭa, Māngōḍuvelada in the

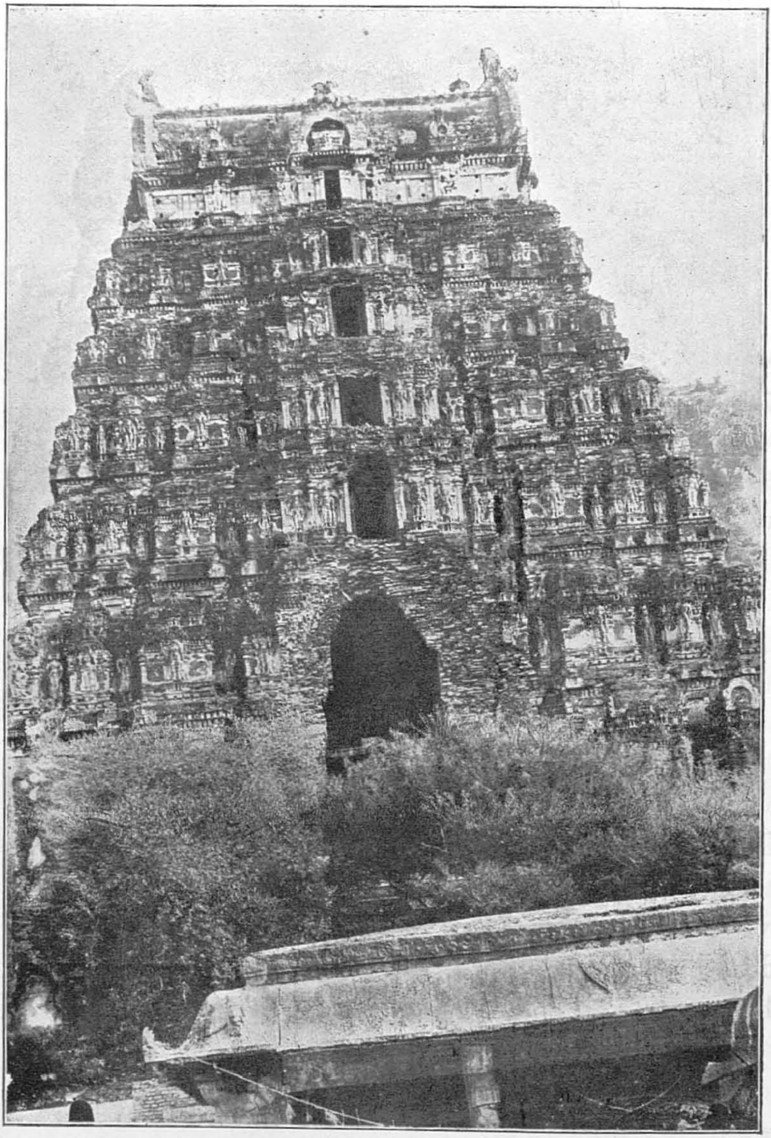
former and Maṇanūra in the latter. This seems to have been carried out under the orders issued by Sāḷuva Narasimha. No. 31 is of importance and concerns the donation by the same monarch. Sāḷuva Narasinga made a grant of the village of Kurukkampaṭṭu in the Taṇigai-nāḍu, Nārāyaṇa-puram Paṟṟu, in the Chandragirirājya. He made this grant on the *Makara-Sankarānti* day, which was also an *ardhōdaya*. He also paid in cash 2,000 *pons* for certain food-services in the temple in his name, which took the form of a sweet cake called *atirasa*. Certain other provisions were made for service during the latter ten days of the *Adhyayana Utsava* in the month of *Mārgaḻi*, (December–January). A number of other provisions in detail for various little services here and there are also provided for. A part of the food due to the donor was to be appropriated for the purpose of feeding the Śrī Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa* constructed by him in the northern street of Tirupati through the superintendent Kandāḍai Rāmānujayya of this *Rāmānujakūṭa*. No. 34 of Ś. 1389 (16th March 1468) is again by Sāḷuva Narasinga. He made a grant of four villages, Vanjippākkam, Mallimalai, Śērulakkūr, and Bhīmapuram in Kīḻappaḍai-nāḍu of the Chandragirirājya along with the village *Vāḷāl Māṇgoṇḍān* in the Paḍaivīḍu Śīmai. From the revenues of these villages thirty food-services

were to be made daily, for which detailed provision is made in the document. The part of the food going to the donor was to be applied for the maintenance of a *chatra* (free feeding-house) under the superintendence of Astigiri Aiyan built by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself near the front *Gōpura* of the temple. No. 35 of Ś. 1390 (1st Aug. 1468) is a gift of a village to the temple by a certain Vallabayyadēva Mahārāja with titles *Antembaragaṇḍa*, and others. The full form of the title is, *Birudantembaragaṇḍa*, champion of those claiming titles, and is one which figured largely among the titles affected by the Mysore rulers of a later period. The revenues of this village were to be applied for a daily food-service and whatever was left over was to be applied for repairs, etc., through the office of works attached to the temple. No. 41 of Ś. 1391 (7th June 1469) is a donation of 500 *paṇam* by one Sāḷuva Gōpayya, son of Mallayyadēva with the Sāḷuva titles. This was to be applied for the service of a *pānaka* (sweet drink) for the four months, *Panguni* to *Āḍi*. The next following document is a record of a donation by the same, but this time 1,000 *paṇam* for a similar service for the remaining eight months of the year. No. 50 (1551) is again by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself. He instituted a swing festival *(Dōlōtsava)* lasting for five days for Śrī Venkaṭēśa, the expenses of which were to be met

by the revenues of the village granted, namely, Dommarappaṭṭi belonging to Paḍaivīḍu Rājya. The balance left over after meeting this expenditure was to be applied for certain offerings in the name of the crown prince and two other sons of his. Other benefactions from this were to be services in his name, and the name of Kumāra Narasaiyan, Chikka Tangaman and Periya Tangaman in all whose names had been constructed four pavilions on the banks of the Tirukkōnēri and in other places round about the temple. There was to be a service of one *appappaḍi* in each of these places. There was to be another similar service on the day of the floating festival. The part of the *Prasāda* due to the donor was to be made over for the use of the Rāmānujakūṭa to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan. Further than this, eighteen *paṇam* a month were to be paid to the *Śāttāda* Vaishṇava who maintained two flower gardens, one on the banks of the Śrīkōnēri, and the other on the banks of the Narasingarāyan Kōnēri. The expenses of feeding on the banks of the Narasingarāyan Kōnēri on the ten days of the *Puraṭṭāśi* festival were also to be met from the *Śrī Bhandāra* under this head. Record No. 53 dated Ś. 1395 (A. D. 1473) is by one Dhonakanḍi Singamunāyakar of Vaḍarājya. It was a gift of 215 *kuḻi* of land from out of Lakshmīnāthan *Bhaṭṭavṛitti* under the irrigation

channel of the temple village of Ālipuram. He purchased the land and made it over to the temple treasury, so that the income from it may be used for a daily food-service to the God. The details of the revenue are mentioned as *Kār*, *Kōḍai*, *Kaḍamai* and *Ponvari*. Of these the first would mean early crop of the year; the second would mean perhaps the summer crop; and the third the government dues from land, which may be in kind or coin, and certain miscellaneous dues payable only in cash. The food-service returnable to the donor was to be made use of for feeding the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the Rāmānuja-kūṭa of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan. The records Nos. 58 and 59 are dated Ś. 1397 (24th Sept. 1475) by one Narasimhadēva son of Rāvu Pinnaṇṇa Rāja, a subordinate of Narasimha and his son Narasimha Prabhu. This refers to a cash deposit of 4,000 *paṇam* for two food-services daily with specific instruction that this money should be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple villages, thereby bringing more land into cultivation the income from out of which was to be applied to meet the expenses. The donor's share of it was to be made over, in this case, to his own religious teacher Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, son of Śoṭṭai Tiruvēngaḍa Tāta Aiyangar of the *Śaṭamarshaṇa Gōtra* and *Āpastamba Sūtra*. These two

details of the *Gōtra* and *Sūtra* give indication of their belonging to the family of Nādamuni, the first Āchārya, whose representative Rāmānuja took pains to secure for service in Tirupati. The document contains seven Sanskrit *ślōkas* which are all of them in praise of the various achievements of the donor. While most of them are in praise of his personal qualities and accomplishments, some achievements against the Pāṇḍya and of service to the *Kākatīyas* in establishing their kingdom, are ascribed to him. These probably are titles which came to him from his ancestors who could have earned credit for these achievements. Record No. 60 of Ś. 1397 (24th Sept. 1475) refers to a Kāśaiya Nāyaka, the younger brother of the chief mentioned above in No. 58. This again is a deposit of 5,000 *paṇam*, and is intended to be applied in the same manner as that of his brother, the donor's share being given over to the same Āchārya as before. The same *Praśāsti ślōkas* are included in the record, and the amount paid had to be applied in the same way as in the previous cases. No. 61 is a brief Sanskrit record of the same. Records Nos. 73 and 74 are from the Gōvindarāja temple in Lower Tirupati, and refer to a deposit of money in the temple for services in connection with a Raghunātha temple constructed and consecrated by this chief. The money was to be

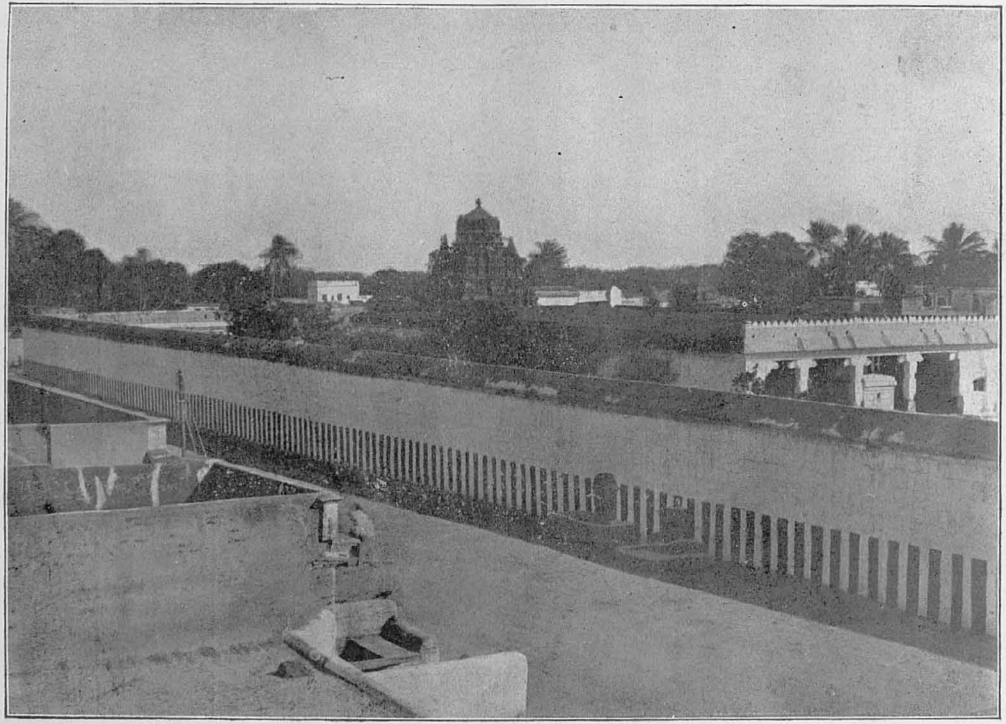


GOPURA OF SALUVA NARASIMHA AT THE FOOT OF THE STEPWAY UP THE HILL

(To face page 15)

applied as in the previous documents, and the income used for the purpose of these services. The chief is referred to merely as Nṛsimharāya Uḍaiyār Mudaliyār of date Ś. 1402 (A.D. 1480). The next following document No. 75 is also in the same connection. Then we come to No. 76 of Ś. 1403 (7th July 1481). This is a record of Sāḷuva Timmarāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallayyadēva with the usual Sāḷuva titles. He made a deposit of 7,800 *paṇam* from the income out of which this food-service had to be provided for. Again the money was to be applied for the agricultural improvements of the temples villages, and from the income accruing therefrom the expenses of the service had to be met. Of the six food-services, four were intended for Tiruvēngaḍam Uḍaiyān and two for Ādivarāhapperumāḷ. The donor's share of the *Prasāda* was to be made use of for distribution along with others of that kind. Next we come to No. 82 dated Ś. 1407 (20th April 1485). This is a benefaction by the emperor Sāḷuva Narasimha by the establishment of Srī Nṛsimha-svāmi on the pathway leading to the Tirumalai hill, identified with the Nṛsimhā shrine at the foot of the hill by the side of the big *Gōpura*. The record is only a couple of Sanskrit *ślōkas* in praise of the ruler. The only interesting part is he is described as a *Sārvabhauma*. The next one is No. 87 of date Ś. 1409 (1st August 1487). This is a donation by

Mukhappāḷam Nāgama Nāyaka. The record is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Nāgama Nāyaka. The purpose of the document is the maintenance of a flower garden, from the flowers gathered therefrom a garland was to be made daily and presented to the God in the name of Nṛsimharāya Mahārāya. Two perpetual lamps were also to be burnt in the sanctum of Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān towards this service. Nāgama Nāyaka who is described here as governor of Kachchipēḍu made over a village called Tiradambāḍi within his own jurisdiction, which formed a part of the villages made over to him in lieu of his salary. The villages were marked off by boundary stones carrying Vishṇu's discus and planted round the village for the purpose. This record is in the hill temple. No. 91 is of date Ś. 1412 (A. D. 1490). This is a benefaction of Śiru Timmarāja Uḍaiyār son of Kommarāja Uḍaiyār, described as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* with the following titles *Uttamagaṇḍa*, *Ubhayaragaṇḍa*, *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa*, *and* *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*. He is also described as a younger brother of Periya Timmarāja. He made a deposit of 1,600 *paṇam* for four services in the hill shrine and six in the Gōvindarāja shrine on stated days in the year. The amount was to be applied to improve the irrigation channel at *Pāṇaham* and in other places, and the income made use of for the



THE HOLY SHRINE OF TIRUPATI, FIRST ENCLOSURE

(To face page 16)

purpose. Provision is made for the disposal of the donor's part of the food-service, as in the previous cases. No. 93 is of Ś. 1412 (24th June 1490) by the same individual. The date is irregular in details. He provided for two superior food-services (*Rājānasandhi*), one in the morning and one in the evening, in the hill shrine on certain festival days, when the God was to be taken over to the pavilion in his own garden. The amount paid was to be applied for bringing an irrigation canal with its head at Śirupāḍi, and brought down to Avilāli. Another similar channel with its head at Tiruvēngaḍanallūr was to be brought over to the same place. The income from the lands brought under cultivation by means of these two channels was to be made use of for the purpose of these services. Record No. 94 is of Ś. 1413 (27th June 1491). The donor is one *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Baicharāja Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, in other words, Timmaiyadēva, son of Baicharāja. It is from the hill shrine. The donor paid 500 *paṇam* as capital to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple village of Pāḍi, from out of the revenue of which provision is to be made for two festivals to Gōvindarāja on the new year (*Ugādi*) and *Dīpāvaḷi* days for taking the image out in procession and providing with the jewel, an emerald necklace of a particular pattern. The usual disposal of the

food-service due to the donor is also provided for. The next one is No. 97 of Ś. 1414 (6th Nov. 1492). The donor is again Baicharāja and Kommarāsu. The first one is given the title *Antembaragaṇḍa* Uragoḷa *Suratrāṇa.* This latter title implies that he was ruler (Suratrāṇa, Sultan) of Warangal. When he could have been that, we do not know for certain. To the second is given the titles *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, Uttamagaṇḍa, Ubhayaragaṇḍa,* and *Gaṇḍa Bhēruṇḍa.* The first of these is stated to be the secretary of the other. He is said to have purchased a village, on payment to the people concerned, and marked it off with the boundary stones carrying the disc mark, and made a tank in the middle with a flower garden on the bank of it containing a pavilion. On the festival of *Pāḍivēṭṭai,* Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ and the goddesses should be taken to the pavilion in procession, and the festival conducted there on the new moon day of *Tai* (January—February) each year. Another festival seems to have been provided for from the produce of the garden the details of which are given. He brought down a channel of water for this purpose from the temple village of Avilāli on payment of 1,000 *paṇam,* and the provision for food-service was made as usual. For cultivating this flower garden four men were appointed on a monthly salary of 12 *paṇam,* and for payment of one *paṇam* a month to the

stānattār for which a payment of 12 *paṇam* was made to the temple treasury; and the document looks like saying that the *stānattār's* responsibility was to receive the funds as well as the share of the *prasāda*, and seeing that the garden and the pavilion within it were maintained without deteriorating. The next two following documents seem to be continuations of this and provide for certain details. They come from the Gōvindarāja shrine. The next document of value in this section is No. 103 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). The donor in this case happens to be Periya Narasamma, the queen of Kommarāju Periya Timmarāju with all the titles as in the case of Śiriya Timmarāju of No. 97. Probably they belonged to the same family. This lady paid 1,000 *pon* for a royal food-service for Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān, and an additional 400 *pon* for restoring the fallen pavilion of Anandān Piḷḷai. After repairs to this *maṇṭapa*, the God was to be brought into this pavilion on the flag hoisting and the sixth day festivals. Provision was made for the food-service accordingly. The share of the food-service to the donor was to be given over to those who looked after the garden of Anandān Piḷḷai. The remaining food was to be disposed of as usual. The next one is of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). The donor is a lady Lakshmi Amman, the sister of Kommarāju Timmarāju, apparently the one referred to

in No. 103. She made a deposit of 1,000 *pon* for a royal food-service to Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān as in the previous cases. This was to be applied to the improvement of the irrigation tank in the temple village Tiramanēri from the income from which the provision for food-service should be met. Further she repaired the *maṇṭapa* called *Tirumaḻiśaipirān* (Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār) at her own expense, and arranged for the looking after of the garden by people coming into the locality, and provided for their maintenance by ordering the gift of the donor's share of the food to them. The next one is No. 113 of Ś. 1415 (17th Feb. 1494). The donor in this case is a Timmaṇa Daṇāyaka, son of Karaṇakka Annadāta Dēvagaḷ of Hārīta *gōtra* and Āśvalāyana Sūtra, a *niyōgi* (a Telugu Brahman) residing in Chandragiri fort. He made a deposit of 300 *paṇam* for 15 services of sweet-cakes on various annual festivals specified, among which happened to be two festivals called *Tōppu Tirunāḷ*, which would mean carrying the image to the grove, probably that in which he had constructed a pavilion for the purpose. Provision was made for these and for the distribution of the food after service. The next one of importance is No. 124 of Ś. 1416 (5th June 1494.) The donor here is Periya Timmarāju, son of Kommarāju, the same as the one referred to in No. 103. He is given

two additional titles in this document, *Sarasvatī-Manō-Bhaṇḍāra* and *Śūraikkāra*. This chief made provision for four royal food-services, three for the God on the hill and one for Gōvindarāja. He paid 4,000 *pon* into the temple treasury. The amount is to be used for a new tank called Timmasamudra in the temple village Pūṇḍi from the income out of which 12 Vaishṇavas were to be fed in a *maṭha* called *Pankayacchelvi* as a charity in his name. He made 500 *kuḷis* of land out of this as a *sarvamānya* to Rāmānuja Jīyar, the superintendent of the temple. The expenses of the other services were to be met from the income from the rest of the land. Provision was accordingly made. No. 126 of Ś. 1416 (5th June 1494) is by the same, and registers a grant of a village called Puducchēri for the purpose of offerings being made to Gōvindarāja when he is taken to a stone *maṇṭapa* constructed by Timmarāju in a flower garden which he purchased from the temple. He provided for this kind of a festival during eight days of the annual festivals in the year. Here again it is specifically stated that the village Puducchēri was part of Vēṭṭuva Kuḷatturai in the district which of old was under his government. The detailed provision was made for this as also for the distribution of the food. The next document No. 127 Ś. 1416 (5th June 1494) records a donation

made by Narasarāja Uḍaiyār, son of Kommarāja Timmarāja with all the details of titles given to Periya Timmarāju in No. 124. He is stated to have built a *maṇṭapa* in front of the gateway of the temple of Gōvindarāja. He made a deposit of 2,300 *paṇam* in the temple treasury which was to be applied for the improvement of irrigation in temple villages generally, from the income out of which provision had to be made for a certain number of festivals for 18 festival days in the course of the year, and a number of other days are also specified. Among them get to be mentioned festivals in the name of Tirumangai Āḷvār and even Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja). This was to be a perpetual grant and the usual provision for food distribution is also made. We pass on to No. 138 of Ś. 1426 (29th Sept. 1504). The donor is one who is described as Tiruvēnkaṭa Chirukkan Tirupaṇi Piḷḷai Emberumānār, an officer in charge of the public works. He made a contribution of 3,825 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for improving the irrigation resources of the villages belonging to the temple, and, from the income derived therefrom, provision had to be made for 153 sweet cakes to be offered on specified festival days through the year, as a charitable gift in the name of Immaḍi Narasingarāya Mahārāya, son of Narasingarāya Mahārāja. The days of the festival making up 153 are specified in detail.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE GRANTS OF SALUVA RULERS AND OFFICIALS. The Sāḷuva inscriptions studied so far have reference, among the records of the period, to those grants made by the ruler himself, and by those who may be regarded as officers, in the service of the state. The general purpose of the grants is the securing of the merit of offering various services at the temple on various occasions, and the distribution of food then and there among those present, and, at the end of the festival, among the temple staff and those concerned with the management of the temple otherwise. These arrangements are more or less common arrangements made in respect of donations to the temple, and there is nothing particularly noteworthy in regard to them. But there are certain features of these grants which are noteworthy. The sums involved, where it is a money grant, are heavier than perhaps needed for the actual requirements of the food and other provisions to be made. Generally they are pretty large sums, as in the case of three or four grants by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, where the gift consisted of a number of villages made over to the temple, the temple becoming entitled thereby to the revenues accruing from the villages. In the case of grants by other officials and even private individuals, the terms are various, and it is hardly necessary to consider the

possibilities. One general feature of these money provisions in respect of these grants is that the money was made over to the temple treasury. It had to be applied, in the first instance, to improving the existing irrigation facilities, or provide fresh ones. These improvements generally had for their object the bringing either of uncultivated lands into cultivation, or of providing greater irrigation facilities to lands already under cultivation. We would not be far wrong if we stated it clearly that these were sums allotted for the improvement of agriculture, and bringing, if possible, the whole of the cultivable lands of the villages concerned into cultivation. That seems to have been the main purpose, although ostensibly the object is to make some provision for services in the temple. This is generally done in a way to indicate that it is perhaps rather subordinate to the main purpose of bringing tracts of uncultivated or partially cultivated lands into full cultivation. These money investments were made over to the temple where temple villages were concerned, as in fact in the great majority of cases. They were to be applied by the temple for purposes of rural improvement, and wait till an income could be obtained from the improvements thus effected. This actually involves the necessity of perhaps the temple having to wait some years before

any revenue accrues from some at least of these provisions for improvement. From out of that income the provision intended for the temple has to be made. Such an arrangement makes it clear that the main purpose really was improvement of agriculture, part of the benefit thereof going to provide some of these amenities in the temple for the spiritual merit of the donors concerned. In the case of the Sāḷuva ruler and his officials, most of them, it is generally a large deposit of money at the temple treasury, except in a few instances of grants of villages as in the case of the king himself and just a few of his officers, such as the famous Nāgamanāyaka In such cases of officers, the villages granted are villages which belonged to them in *jāghīr* ; it is plainly stated that the villages granted belonged to the division of Kacchippēḍu which he had to govern, and that they were actually allotted for his own maintenance as governor. In one or two other instances of similar grants, we have clear indication that the gifted village was about in the same position. It is only in respect of the villages, four villages in the one case, and one or two in one or two others by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, that these details are not given to us, and it is left open to the inference that they may be villages belonging to the government. Even so, it is a matter for doubt whether they were villages

belonging to the public or the state that were made over. In such cases the usual practice, as indicated by these inscriptions generally, is that the ruler purchased these villages and made them over; since these are not stated to be purchased in these cases, it is probable that they somehow belonged to the royal domain lands of Sāḷuva Narasimha.

THE OBJECT OF THE BENEFACTIONS, GAINING OF THE DOUBLE MERIT. This array of references from the Dēvastānam inscriptions to the donations made to the temple by the ruler Sāḷuva Narasinga himself or by his officials, make it quite clear that there was a considerable amount of feeling of devotion to the temple in the ruler and his government as a whole, and that this feeling of devotion exhibited itself in comparatively liberal donations to the temple. But what is really most interesting, from the point of view of history, is that these large donations took the form of donations of capital amounts placed at the disposal of the temple treasury, with specific prescription as to how the amount is to be applied, from the income of which the expenses of the actual donation to the temple should be met. As we have already noticed that, in the matter of private donations, it often took the form of a deposit of money from the interest of

which the expenses intended were to be met. But in these cases generally we find that the amount is actually paid into the temple treasury with specific instructions to apply the amount for the improvement of irrigation facilities of the villages and lands belonging to the temple, the expenses of the actual services to the temple, being met from the income that these improvements bring to the temple. Often-times we do meet individuals supplying the money and effecting the improvements, and indicating that the services intended for the temple were to be conducted when these improvements result in giving an income to the temple, waiting for some time, if need be, for the income to accrue. It seems therefore the deliberate object of these donations that the capital given should go to effect improvements in the lands belonging to the temple so as to increase its permanent income from out of which the necessary provision for the services ahould be made. It seems to be intended for the securing of a double merit by the donor, the merit of permanently increasing the income of the temple by bringing more lands into cultivation, or by making the cultivation more efficient by improved facilities therefor, in itself an act of spiritual merit; and there was the further merit of a part of the income being ear-marked for certain direct services in the

temple. The systematic adoption of a policy like this must have resulted in bringing practically the whole of the temple lands, such as they were, in the neighbourhood of the temples themselves, effectively into cultivation, as the region was one which was mere uncultivated forest land, or dry land with only the redeeming feature of the river running all through the district.

THE BENEFACTIONS OF SALUVA NARASIMHA HIMSELF. Among the rulers and officials that figure in this group of inscriptions, Sāḷuva Narasimha himself takes the most prominent place. He has about half a dozen records, one or two of which are orders issued to the temple authorities regarding the disposal of certain services. But the others are grants more or less like the others. Even he, in his gift to the temple, has to make the gift over to the *stānattār* of the temple. The earliest gift to which there is reference is a free gift of the village of Ālipuram to the temple. It was given on a former occasion, but on this date A. D. 1456, he entered into an agreement with the temple authorities as to the disposal of the revenue collected in cash as well as grain. This document makes it clear that he managed the disposal of certain matters which the donors have had to do through his agent Kandāḍai

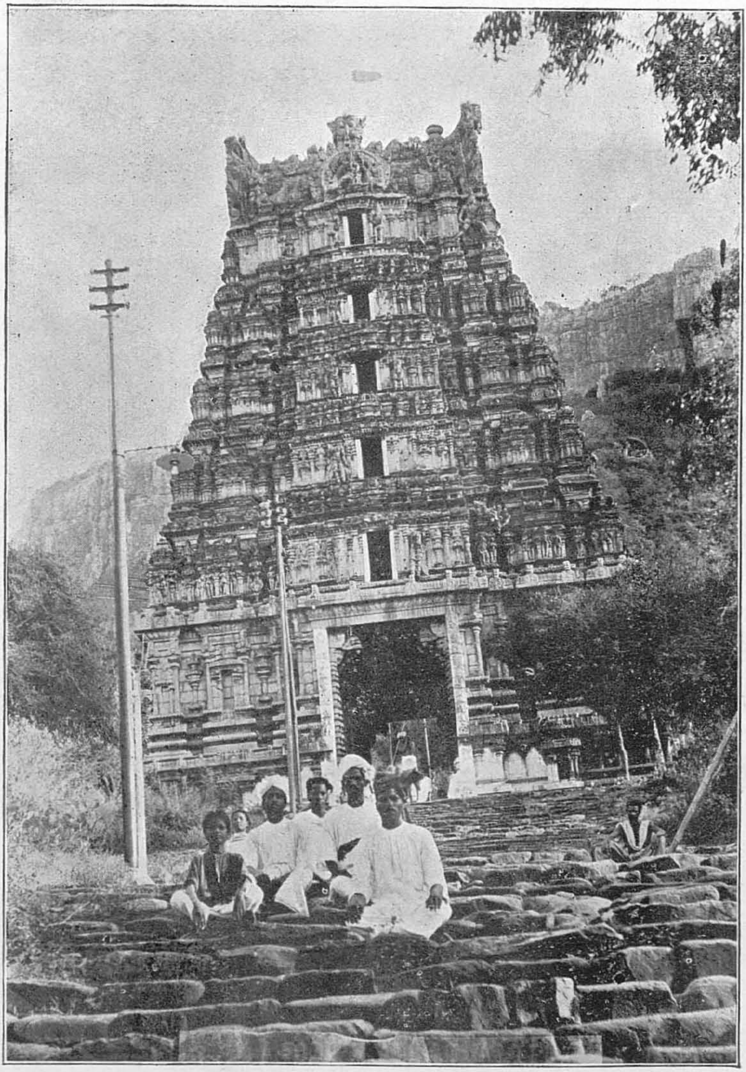
Rāmānuja Aiyan, the disciple of Aḻahiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, who had been appointed superintendent of the free feeding houses, of which Sāḷuva Narasimha had constructed a few and arranged for the free distribution of food in these. Another of his services to the temple was provision for four daily food offerings by his queen Śrī-Rangāmbā. It refers to an irrigation canal that Sāḷuva Narasimha himsef had got constructed for irrigating the temple village of Adityanpaḻḻi on the borders of Māvanḍūr. From the income out of the lands brought under cultivation, or improved cultivation under this work, the expenses of the services were to be met. In the disposal of the food, it is mentioned that one unit was to be given to maintain the person who kept a garden in her name, in the immediate neighbourhood of another garden in the name of Sāḷuva Narasimha himself. That means that he had provided for two flower gardens, one in his name, and another in the name of the queen. The next one relates to the Gōvindarāja shrine, and refers to the grant of two villages, not in the Chandragiri-rājya, but in the Paḍaivīḍu-rājya in the neighbourhood. The income therefrom was till then paid into the royal treasury. At the same time he also granted a village under a tank at Tirupati. It was a royal order straightway making these grants for the purposes for which

they were intended. The next work of his is a grant for a particular festival for which the income was provided by the grant of a village in the Chandragiri-rājya. There is a direct reference here to the Rāmānujakūṭa built by him, and placed under the superintendence of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan. The arrangement is made for the distribution of the donor's part of the food among the Śrī Vaishṇavas in this place. This particular village was granted on *Makara-Sankramaṇa* day which was also *Ardhōdayam* regarded as a specially holy day for making these grants. The next one refers to a gift of five villages by the same monarch for food-services in the temple. A part of the donor's share of the food is to be used for feeding those in the *chatra*, perhaps not strictly confined to the feeding of Śrī Vaishṇavas alone, under the superintendence of one Astigiri Aiyan; and this charity house is said to have been built by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself near the front *gōpura* of the Gōvindarāja temple. The next donation of importance from him is his institution of a swing festival at the hill shrine, for which he granted a village belonging to the Paḍaivīḍu-rājya. The balance of revenue coming from this, after meeting this first charge, was to be utilised for certain offerings in the names of his sons. Three names are given :— (1) Kumāra Narasaiyan, (2) Chikka Tangaman and (3) Periya Tangaman.

We have so far heard of only two sons of Sāḷuva Narasimha, and their names come before us only in the transactions after his death. But that does not preclude his having had one more son; he might have predeceased the father. But what is really puzzling in this is the order of naming. We cannot be sure that it is in the order of seniority, although the term *Kumāra* attaching to the first indicates that he was the eldest, while the attributes for the other two, *Chikka* and *Periya*, the younger and the elder, are rather in the reverse order. But the work connected with their name in Tirupati is a *kōnēri* a natural cleft or tank on the hill named after Sāḷuva Narasimha immediately in the neighbourhood of a similar tank named after the God himself. He built four pavilions on the banks of the *kōnēri* in his and his sons' name. This document also makes provision for a *Śāttāda* Vaishṇava (Non-Brahman Vaishṇava) who was maintaining two gardens, one on the bank of each of these two *kōnēris*. He provided for certain other services also on the great festival of *Puraṭṭāśi*. Another important grant by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself is the grant of a village Durga-samudram for his own spiritual merit. The grant was made in A. D. 1472, but ten years after, that is, in A. D. 1482. this was confirmed as a permanent grant and made over to the

temple authorities for meeting the expenses of repairs and upkeep of the temple and its buildings through the superintendent of works. This arrangement was made by the temple authorities under direct orders from Sāḷuva Narasimha himself. The next important gift of his is the construction of the shrine of Śrī Nṛsimhasvāmi at the foot of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of the *gōpura* leading to the steps. The record is only a couple of *ślōkas* in Sanskrit which state the fact of his establishing this shrine. This gives him the title *Sārvabhauma*, and has reference to a date 20th April 1485 ; probably this was soon after he assumed supreme authority in Vijayanagar. It will be seen that that is a respectable catalogue of works in regard to the temple by the ruler himself, which would indicate clearly his personal attachment and devotion to the God at Tirupati, a feature which finds mention in the poem *Sāḷuvābhyudayam* as well.

BENEFACTIONS BY SALUVA NARASIMHA'S OFFICIALS, ETC. The more prominent works of his officers are the gift of a flower garden by Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, his elder brother which comes under reference. Then an official of his, Mallaiyadēva of the Sāḷuva family, at the time governor of the Chandragiri-rājya, is recorded



GALI GOPURAM (To face page 33)

to have built a thousand-pillared pavilion in front of the temple. The next benefaction by an official and a relation of the ruler is by prince Parvatarāja of the Sāḷuva family, a nephew, brother's son, of Sāḷuva Narasimha. He is said to have constructed a *maṇṭapa*, or pavilion, half way up the steps and called *Muḻangāl-murippān* (knee-breaker) generally. He provided for a water-shed at the place. He also provided for the maintenance of a garden on the hill, and of a tank for growing water-lilies in particular on the hill. The next one is a gift by one Nṛsimharāya Uḍaiyār, as he is called. He constructed a Raghunātha temple in Lower Tirupati, and provided for its maintenance. The next official donation is a gift of a village in Paḍaivīḍu-rājya by Nāgamanāyaka. The village was marked off as a *dēvadāna* village by survey stones planted with the marks of Vishṇu's discus in the Paḍaivīḍu-rājya for the spiritual benefit of Nṛsimharāya. It was for maintaining a flower garden from the flowers of which garlands were to be made for the service of the God. The next officers who made an important donation were Baicharāja and Kommarāzu, the first being described as the Secretary of the other. It refers to his purchase of a village and the granting of it to the temple marking it with boundary stones carrying the discus mark of Vishṇu.

He is said also to have constructed a tank in the middle of the village with a flower-garden on the bank adjoining a pavilion for Gōvindarāja being taken to on certain festivals, making provision therefor. The next work of importance is by a lady, a sister of one of the officials. She made provision for repairing the *maṇṭapa* called after Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār, the *maṇṭapa* itself being called *Tirumaḻiśaippirān*. The last one of importance in this group is the work of a Narasarāja Uḍaiyār, both his father and uncle having been officials. He is said to have built a *maṇṭapa* in front of the gateway of the temple of Gōvindarāja. Among the provisions that he made, the festivals of Tirumangai Āḻvār and Uḍaiyavar find mention. These and several other details in this group give indication that several of the arrangements said to have been made by Rāmānuja in the *Śrī Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* were actually made as they find mention in the period with which we are concerned.

We have covered the period from A.D. 1456 to A.D. 1485 in this group. During the whole of it Sāḷuva Narasimha was, at any rate, rightfully no more than the ruler of the Chandragiri-rājya under Vijayanagar. At the beginning of this period Mallikārjuna was the emperor, at least he continued to be emperor for six or seven years

after the beginning of this period. Then followed princes, sons of Mallikārjuna, for a short while, and then Virūpāksha, whose sons were ultimately overthrown by Sāḷuva Narasimha. We have not come upon one single reference in all these grants made by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself and his officials to the Vijayanagar sovereigns. This gives clear indication that perhaps pretty early in the career of Sāḷuva Narasimha as ruler of Chandragiri-rājya, he had more or less given up acknowledgment of allegiance to the empire and conducted himself as if he were independent of Vijayanagar, perhaps without committing an open breach with the empire, and that seems to be almost the position that we are enabled to infer from the other sources of information we have for the period, and these inscriptions at Tirupati only go to confirm that.

BENEFACTIONS BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS DURING THE PERIOD. Taking now the records of donations by private donors, that is, individuals who made their donation to the temple with a view to securing spiritual merit for themselves by acts of piety, either because of the good example set by the officials or because somehow it became the dominent idea in the locality, individuals quite unconnected with the administration, and even those who made comparatively small grants

made their benefactions not merely in the same spirit, but actually in the same manner. Of course, the dominating feature is that whatever benefaction was made to the temple should be perpetual for insuring merit to them. To be perpetual, there must be a prepetual income; and whatever capital they gave should be so invested as to produce that perpetual income. The best way of assuring that was surely to invest it in a productive agency like that of land, and it happened that the temple had lands which would admit of such improvements and thereby ensure to the temple a permanent income. They therefore naturally either followed the example set, or adopted it as a good principle for the particular purpose.

The first record we come upon in this group is No. 5 of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions volume II of Ś. 1399 (7th Nov. 1457). The donation is by a Vēnkaṭavalli, daughter of Śavari Perumāḷ, and attached to the temple of Śrī Nṛsimhasvāmi at Tirupati. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for a food-service on the hill shrine in her name to be applied to digging up the big irrigation tank (what is meant is probably removing the silt), and from out of the income a certain food-service was to be provided along with the food-service in the name of Bukkarāya. The next one is No. 7 of

Ś. 1380 (25th June 1458). The donor is one Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar, the keeper of Tiruvēngaḍanāthan flower garden. From the name we could infer he was a Vaishṇava *Sanyāsin*. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* for two daily food-services in the name of Bukkarāya. In this case there is no indication of the amounts being applied to the improvement of land. The portion of the food generally allotted to the donor was, after his life, to pass on to the single Vaishṇava who should succeed to the office of keeping the garden in condition No. 10 of Ś. 1382 (25th Feb. 1461) is a donation by one Tippu Nāyakar, son of Timmānāyaka. He is described as one of the *naṭṭuvans* (dancing-masters) in the dancing-hall of Sāḷuva Narasimhadēva Mahārāja. The purpose of his donation was a daily service of food in his name and the lighting of a lamp every Saturday. For this latter purpose, he planted a bronze pillar which would hold a quantity of ghee, which was to be supplied from the income to be got by the investment of the 2,000 *paṇam* that he gave, being applied to bringing a canal with its head at Tirucchuganūr. It was to run along the boundaries of Munnaippūnḍi, carrying waters through the minor channels to the temple village of Pāḍi. The weekly supply of ghee for the lamp was one *nāḻi* No. 12 of Ś. 1384 (20th April 1462) is a donation by a certain Kōnēri, son of Māṇikka Nāyanār, head

of Śāttakkuḍi in the Chandragiri-rājya and another by name Ulahaḷandavēḷān. It must be noted that this document is not an agreement as usual, but is a grant straightway by the individuals. The grant consisted in the provision of four men of Śāttakkuḍi Marudūr by name Periya Gōpālan, Chinnan, Kāri and Śirugōpālan along with others. They were to supply two *Chāḷukya Nārāyaṉan marakkāls* of ghee every year, so that the lamp may be burning perpetually throughout the year in the name of Sāḷuva Narasimha as a charity gift. They were to measure out the ghee into the temple *śāla*, and obtain receipt from the *Jīyar* in charge. We pass on to No. 20 of Ś. 1385 (7th March 1464) from the Gōvindarāja temple. This brings to notice a Tōḷappar Aiyangar, son of Śoṭṭai Tirumalainambi Tiruvēngaḍa Tātaiyangar of the Śaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra* and *Āpastamba sūtra*. He is described as one of the Āchārya *purushas* belonging to the Agrahāra (*Agaram*). It will be remembered that Rāmānuja was anxious that a lineal descendant of Nādamuni of the above Śaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra* and *Āpastamba sūtra*, should be brought down and settled in Tirupati. This family claims that descent. This person paid 7,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for certain services to Śrī Gōvindaperumāḷ. The instruction is given that this sum is to be applied

for improving irrigation channels from the river, and such other irrigation facilities as may be required in temple villages from the income arising out of which the expenses of the services should be met. Specific instructions as to the distribution of the donor's share of the service are indicated. We next come to No. 24 of Ś. 1388 (9th January 1467), where the donor is Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, whom we shall meet pretty often hereafter. He was a disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, and was in charge of the Vaishṇava feeding houses called *Rāmānuja-kūṭa*, some his own and others provided for by other donors, among them, Sāḷuva Narasimha himself. This record comes from the Gōvinda-rāja temple. This person entered into an agreement with a number of cultivators of dry lands round about Tirupati undertaking to provide an irrigation canal with its head in the border of Pērūr to be dug by him and brought to their lands for purposes of irrigation. What they agreed to pay to him, by way of return for the irrigation facility, was to be applied for the feeding of the Śrī Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. This agreement between Rāmānuja Aiyan and the ryots of these villages was to continue between the successors of both for all time, that is, as long as the sun and the moon should last. No. 26 is by the same person, and is of Ś. 1389

(25th April 1467). He provided for the service of sweet-cakes in the hill shrine from the income of the lands brought into cultivation by two canals that he got made at his own expense. The first took off from the border of Tirucchukanūr, and led the water to the temple village of Koṛṛamangalam. The other took off from the border of Periya Maṇḍiyam and took water for Kūraikkāl. When the lands thus brought under cultivation should be cultivated, the share of the income due to him should be applied for the service. It should be ear-marked by him for the use of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*, and to be continued for the same purpose even under his successors. We next pass on to No. 36 of Ś. 1390 (A.D. 1468). This document is said to be on the walls of the shrine of Kūrattāḻvār, a contemporary of Rāmānuja and among his chief disciples in the Gōvindarāja temple. The same donor built a shrine for Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, and set up the image of the Āḻvār, and secured the gift of a *sārvamānya* (free gift) village in a locality which is defined, although the record is partly gone. Apparently the expenses of this service were met by him, and from the income of the *mānya*, the expenses were to be met for a festival to this Āḻvār on the *Punarvasu Nakshatra* in the month of *Māśi* (Feb-March) every year. There are also certain other provisions for other Āḻvārs and their

shrines. The next documents of importance are Nos. 38 and 39 dated Ś. 1390 (28th February 1469) relating to the same donor. These documents provide for four services of food, rice in the curd *(dadhyōdanam)*. The expenses for this were to be met from the income got from two canals that he got excavated to irrigate uncultivated lands in two temple villages. One canal was to irrigate temple lands of Tiruvēngaḍanallūr, and take the used water to a tank next across; and the other was taken round a temple village to bring into cultivation certain garden lands which remained dry round about the temple village. The donor's share of the food was to be made use of for the purpose of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*, the charity feeding house for Vaishṇavas. There are certain other provisions for food distribution. Among them is found the distribution of food among Śāttāda Vaishṇavas as they are called, a special sect of Non-Brahmin Vaishṇavas. One service for God Nṛsimha on the hill was also provided for. The provision of forty cows is mentioned for supplying the curd necessary for this particular service. No. 40 is of Ś. 1391 (14th May 1469). This makes provision for two royal services of food during the midnight service to the God on the hill shrine, and similar service to Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati. The expenses are to be met from the produce of land brought

into cultivation by a canal that he dug up at his own expense from the borders of the temple of Tiruvēngaḍanāthanallūr to the village of Pāṇaham, and brought uncultivated lands into cultivation. There is a reference further down in the document to 400 *kuḻis* of land sold to him for 700 *paṇam* near the temple village of Avilāli. He set that apart for this service. We pass on to No. 43, Ś. 1391 (21st August 1469). This was a grant by one Ādirāja, son of Lakkasāni Amman said to have belonged to the *Bējaru-vāya Kula*, *Āpastamba Sūtra*, *Maudgalya Gōtra*. He paid 1,000 *paṇam* for a daily offering to God in his name. This he paid for deepening the irrigation tank in Kalidhīramangalam. The income from the lands brought into cultivation as a result of this irrigation work, was to be made use of for the food-service. A portion of the donor's share of the food was to be given to a particular person, whose name is mentioned. The next important records are Nos. 44 and 45 relating to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan of Ś. 1391 (7th January 1470), and the next Ś. 1392 (6th May 1470). The first record relates to the acquiring of a *sarvamānya* (free gift-village) for the purpose of a charity feeding house on the hill in return for certain irrigation works that he carried out. The next one refers to his having got two irrigation canals made,

the produce of which, when the new lands brought under cultivation should yield, was to be applied for distribution of food in the name of Nṛsimharāja when the God should be taken to a pavilion in Tirupati on the occasion of the summer festivals. The usual provision for distribution of the donor's share is made. No. 46 of Ś. 1392 (12th August 1470) refers to a Siddhaṇaiyar, son of Paḍumali Dēvappagaḷ, described as belonging to the Jāmadagnya Vatsa *gōtra* and *Bhōsala Sūtra*. He is said to have been the secretary of Sāḷuva Narasimha. He got a canal dug at his expense with its head at the border of Śirupāḍi, and brought the water for irrigating the temple village of Avilāli. From the lands newly brought under cultivation, the means had to be found for the particular food-service in his name. No. 47 of Ś. 1392 (28th December 1470 is again by Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan. This comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine, and makes provision for sweet cakes service overnight. The expenses of this had to be met from the produce of a new canal that he made at his own expense, which he brought for irrigating certain uncultivated lands on the southern border of Kalidhīramangalam, a temple village. Similarly he took another canal at his own expense from its head at the temple village Baiṇḍappaḷḷi, and took it over to the other

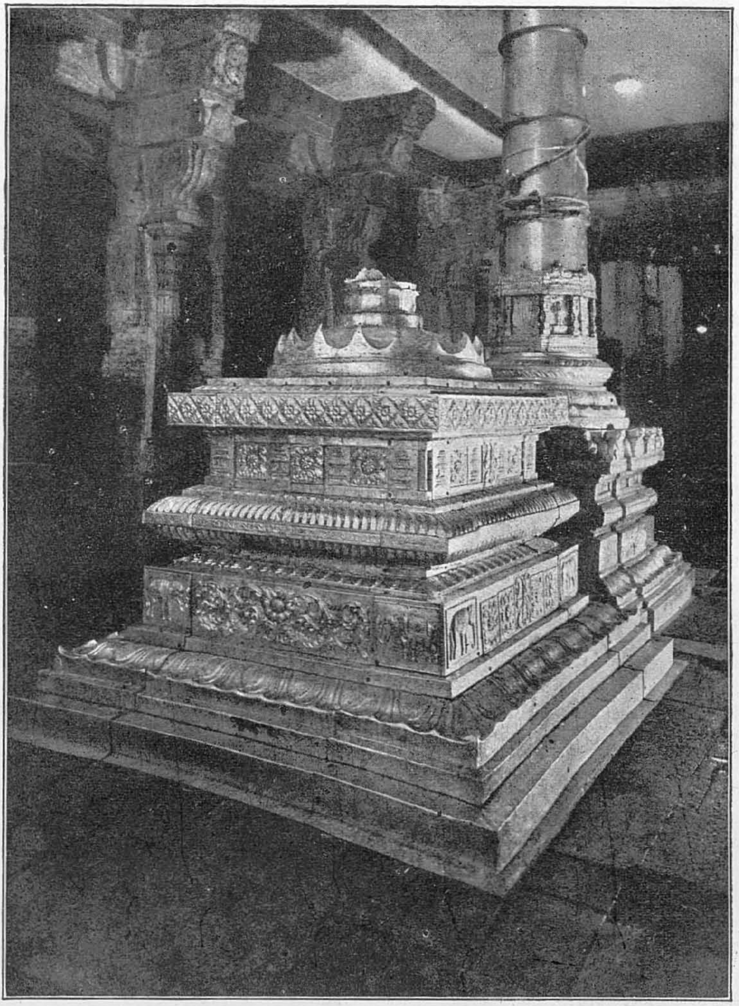
villages where the uncultivated garden lands had been brought under cultivation. The income arising from this had to be made use of for the purpose of the service. The donor's share of the food-service was to be applied for the purpose of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* in Tirupati. No. 48 of Ś. 1393 (20th January 1472) is an order in favour of a certain Pullagaṇḍam Tiruvēngaḍadāsa Ōbaḷaiya belonging to a class of Mauṣika, resident in the Śingar Kōil Street of Tirupati. He was to receive one share of the food and sweet cakes after offering to the God, and an eighth of another kind of food called *Akkāḷiprasāda* (bare boiled rice.) This was done in accordance with the order received from Narasimharāja by writing. No. 49 of Ś. 1394 (27th November 1472) is a document in favour of Karpūram Mūvarāyar, son of Paḷḷikoṇḍa Perumaḷ of Vīram Aḍakkippaṭṭi. This refers to the grant of a certain village by this person. The village was one Viṇṇavāśal belonging to the division Śārikaikkōṭṭai on Śuttamalli Vaḷanāḍu in Śōḷamaṇḍalam to one Emberumānār Jīyar for one food-service in his own name and for various repairs, etc., to the Paḷḷikoṇḍān pavilion in the Tirumangai Āḷvār shrine. Provision is made accordingly by Emberumānār Jīyar, who was in charge of the Tirumangai Āḷvār shrine and the *maṇṭapa* belonging to it. When Emberumānār

Jīyar should cease to exist, his successor bachelor in charge of the temple should assume responsibility therefor. The next one is of Ś. 1395 (A.D. 1473). This is a grant by Sōmaṇa Dīkshita, son of Śivagña Sōmayāji of the Kaśyapa *gōtra* and belonging to the Puruḍaguṇṭa. He is said to have purchased 215 *kuḻi* of irrigated land out of Lakshmīnāthan Bhaṭṭavṛitti in Ālipura, providing for the income from out of *kār*, *kōḍai*, *kaḍamai* and *pon varigaḷ*, meaning respectively income from the summer crop, the dues upon it to the state, and such taxes and cesses as are payable in cash. From out of this one food-service was to be provided for the temple. The next one of importance is No. 57 of Ś. 1397 (9th July 1475). This is an agreement under the orders of the *stānattār* with one Amudan Tiruvēngaḍayya, a disciple of Yatirāja Jīyar Kandāḍai Aṇṇaiyangār, who had the management of the temple of Emberumānār. He paid 150 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation of the village of Vikramādityamangalam by improving tank and the irrigation canal, *Uḍaiyavar Kālvāi*, from the income out of which food-services were to be made in his own name on the fifth day of the festival of Rāmānuja in the month of *Chittirai*. The next ones are Nos. 62, 63 and 64 of Ś. 1397 (20th October 1475). The first record is in the Tirumangai Āḻvār shrine in Lower Tirupati on

the *Kapila Tīrtha*, and the other two in the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is an agreement under the orders of the *stānattār*, between Emberumānār Jīyar, manager of the Tirumangai Āḻvār shrine and the leading Vaishṇava of Tirupati, Śaṭagōpadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliyār for the payment of 200 *paṇam* into the treasury of Tirumangai Āḻvār. Certain services were to be made during the festivals of Tirumangai Āḻvār. This sum was to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation channel taking water into the lands of Tirumangai Āḻvār in the village Iḷāmaṇḍya, and the usual arrangement is made for the distribution of the donor's share of the food among the *Rāmānujakūṭas* and otherwise. The next document is also an agreement of a similar character between the same parties. This refers to a deposit of 200 *paṇam* into the treasury of the Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja) shrine for a festival to be celebrated in the name of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the superintendent of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* in Tirupati. The 200 *paṇam* should be applied to improve the irrigation canal leading into the lands of Uḍaiyavar. The provision for details of the food-service and for the distribution of the donor's share is made as usual. The next one is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Saṭagōpadāsa Narasimharāya Mudaliyār. This refers to a depost of 5,500 *paṇam*

deposited into the temple treasury. This was to make provision for a daily service of *atirasa* for Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ and for its distribution among the *Rāmānujakūṭas* in Tirupati. The sum thus deposited was to be applied for improving the irrigation resources of temple villages, and provision made accordingly for the food-service and its distribution. No. 66 of Ś. 1398 (26th March 1496) is an agreement between the *stānattār* with Gōpaiya, keeper of the flower-garden *Malaikkiniyaniṅṟān*. He made a deposit of 1,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages, and the donor's share of the food should be handed over to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan and his disciples for the use of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* in his charge. The next one No. 67 of Ś. 1398 (9th May 1476) is that of Śaṭagōpa Narasimharāya Mudaliyār, one of the Śrī Vaishṇava inhabitants of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied again for the improvement of irrigation sources, the tanks and canals, in temple villages, for one food-service in the temple in the name of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the donor's share going for the use of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* as usual. Others among whom this should be distributed are also mentioned in some number. No 68 of the same year corresponding to 23rd November 1476 A. D.

is an agreement with the same party, and makes provision for one daily food-service in the temple of Raghunātha on the hill, and for service to Emberumānār (Rāmānuja) for 12 days in the month of *Chittirai* when the image is brought down on the occasion of the recitation of the *Prabandha*, and then for the eleven birthday asterisms in the year of the saint, and for the annual festival of Nammāḻvār being brought to the shrine of Rāmānuja on the occasion of the reciting of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* on the birthday asterism of the Āḻvār; similarly for festivals on the birthday asterism of every one of the other Āḻvārs, and for a festival on which the image of Rāmānuja is taken over to the flower garden going by his name, and for a flower pavilion called *Rāmachandra*, and the taking of the image to the flower pavilion in the name of Kumāra Rāmānuja on the way to Pāpanāśa. The further provisions include the bringing in of the God and the Goddesses for a swing festival in the shrine of *Gṅānappirān* (Śrī Varāha) on the bank of the Kōnēri, in the pavilion called *Rāmānujaiyan*; in all 35 festivals are provided for, the allotment of the provision for these and their distribution. A share of these food-services should go to the 16 *Śāttāda* Vaishṇavas living in the street of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan and taking care of the flower garden called *Rāmachandra*; and then



BALIPITHA AND DVAJASTHAMBA (ALTAR AND FLAGSTAFF)

(To face page 49)

there is an elaborate list of the recipients of these *prasādas* among the Vaishṇava residents of Tirupati. No. 69 is of Ś. 1399 (22nd May 1477). The donor is Periya Perumāḷ Dāsar, a bachelor disciple of Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar, and keeper of *Pin-śeṅṛa-Villi* (the bowman who followed, Lakshmaṇa) flower garden. He made provision for a food-service to the Goddess *Alarmēlmangai* (the lady on the flower), a Tamil name for the Goddess in the hill shrine, on the nine flag hoisting festival days. The deposit amount of 1,600 *paṇam* was paid into the treasury, and had to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources of temple villages. The food distribution was to be, on the usual pattern for use among the residents of the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. No. 79 of Ś. 1404 (30th May 1482) is a direct order of Sāḷuva Narasimha to the Public Works Department of the temple, referring to a grant of the village made by him on 13th October 1472. The present order directs the appropriation of the revenue by these public works officials for the maintenance of the temple buildings in a good condition of repair. No. 80 of Ś. 1405 (3rd October 1483) refers to one Kandāḍai Appāchiyār Aṇṇa, who made a deposit of 300 *paṇam* for one monthly food-service on his birthday asterism. It is followed by the direction for the usual distribution of food. No. 81 is of Ś. 1406 (11th Aug. 1484)

and refers to Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan as the party concerned. This was an agreement in the name of Sāḷuva Narasimha by this Śrī Vaishṇava. It lays down the details for certain provisions for the festival of ablution of the God on the hill at Tirupati and in the Gōvindarāja shrine, as also for the daily worship of Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ. This has to be applied to his own village of Kuṇḍipūṇḍi where there was a feeding house, and which was made over to him by Nṛsimha-rāya. From the income thereof certain articles were to be supplied by his own Non-Brahman (*Śāttāda*) Vaishṇava disciples resident in Tirupati. Nos. 83 and 84 are interesting and refer to Ś. 1407 (6th June 1485). They record an agreement between the *stānattār*, and the temple accountant who is named here Nalla-angāṇḍai, who is given the generic designation Tiruniṅṛaiyūr Uḍaiyān. There is an interesting reference in these to a work carried out by Vaṉ Śaṭagōpa Jīyar, who is said here to have built a brick pavement in front of the Gōvindarāja temple with a pavilion along it. This was purchased by this temple accountant for 2,000 *paṇam* paid into the temple treasury. He apparently completed the pavilion portion, and made it fit for taking the deity there on occasions of festivals. He made a further deposit of 2,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for improving the agricultural resources of temple villages, and the

income to be utilised for a number of festivals throughout the year when the God and the Goddess are to be brought into this pavilion and food-services rendered. Among the festivals mentioned are the *Tiruvadhyayana* festival beginning with *Iyaṟpā*, and coming down to the *Nūṟṟandādi* through the 22 days, that is, the whole of the *Nālāyiraprabhandam* including the centum on Rāmānuja, and there is further provision for the recitation of the works of various other Āḻvārs on their particular birthday asterisms in this *maṇṭapa*. The details of the provision for food-service are made and the directions for the regulation of its distribution. No. 84 is imperfect and speaks of this same donor having paid another sum of money for the merit of Narasimharāya for some service to be done in the *Vasanta-maṇṭapa*. No. 86 of Ś. 1408 (1st Nov. 1484) is a donation by Vaḷandi, the daughter of one Ānai Mādi a dancing woman going round the streets in front of the procession on days when the God is taken out in procession. She paid 300 *paṇam* for some food provision on the thirty days of the month of *Mārgaḷi* when a part of the *Prabhanda* called *Tiruppaḷḷi Eḻucchi* is to be chanted. There is nothing said about applying the money for purposes of agricultural improvement. No. 88 of Ś. 1410 (12th August 1488) comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is a document of some

importance. It is an agreement with one Vignēśvara, Śrī Rāma, described as Tiruniṅṛaiyūr Uḍaiyān, which means the particular hereditary temple accountant of the time. This accountant is said to have made an image of Raghunātha (Rāma) for worship by Rāmānuja (in this case, the image of Rāmānuja in his shrine), and provided for two food-services to this image of the deity. These two were to be in the name of *Mannār Piḷḷai* and Kumārar Narasaiyan. He also provided for food-services during a number of festivals both in the hill shrine and for Gōvindarāja. He provided further for a water-shed at the head of the first series of steps up the hill (*ēṛṛam*). He paid the money for getting a canal brought in, with its head on the borderland of Parittiputtūr, to the temple village of Tiruvēngaḍanallūr, to bring dry lands on the outskirts of the village under wet cultivation, from the income of which these provisions had to be made. Among other provisions were five food-services on the birthday asterisms of Śoṭṭai Tiruvēngaḍattaiyangār's son, (the name is gone); Mannār Piḷḷai on the day of his birth-star *aviṭṭam*; Narasaiyan on his birth star *Punarpūśam*; Śrī Rāman apparently himself on his birthday asterism *Svāti*. He further provided for festivals on twelve important days in the year which are specified, and a number of other festivals for the

new image of Raghunātha also. He also provided for money payments for a certain number of people, and, among these money provisions, happens to be the pay of the man in charge of the water-shed at the head of the large flight of steps of the hill. There is an elaborate list of donor's share of the food for their services. The points of importance coming for notice in this are that the donation was made by one who belonged to the family of hereditary temple accountants. The name of this particular individual is Vignēśvaran Śrī Rāman, which should normally mean Śrī Rāman, son of Vignēśvaran. Among the persons mentioned here are Mannār Piḷḷai and Kumāra Narasaiyan ; they look like two separate names, and this is confirmed by two separate birth *nakshatras* given to them in the latter part of the document. There was an officer of eminence with the name Mannār Piḷḷai, and a brother Appā Piḷḷai. This is probably the person meant although his name comes before that of the Prince. The compound would mean in that case 'the excellent one, the king'. The second name would be Narasaiya, who is Kumārar or prince. It does not seem impossible that the donor meant that the merits of this benefaction should be shared by the king and the prince. He seems certainly to have been attracted to the prince, as he went the length of

calling the canal that he dug at considerable expense, Narasaiyan *kāl* in the name of the prince. So it seems clear that the prince bearing the name Narasa came to be marked off with distinction during the life-time of his own father, although we are not sure as yet whether he was the eldest. The next one, No. 89 of Ś. 1510 (1488 A.D.) was an agreement with one who is named Aṇṇaiyāryachakravartigaḷ Śrī Rangarājar Aḻahiya Maṇavāḷa Dāsar. This is provision for a food-service on the monthly asterisms of the birth of Bhaṭṭarpirān Jīyar which is said to be *Punarvasu.* This service was to be also on the days of the flag-hoisting and the seven festival days in the hill temple. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* for these food-services. The distribution of the *prasāda* is provided for as usual. We pass on to No. 95 of Ś. 1413 (27th June 1491). This is an agreement with one Jīyar Rāmānuja Aiyan, whose secular name was Pāsinḍi Vēngaḍatturaivār. He paid 2,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for a number of food-services during the year. It is directed that the amount deposited should be applied to the improvement of the irrigation resources. Among the number of provisions of food-services is one for carrying the food from the temple to the *Ākāśagangā* for distribution among the *stānattār* and others. It is also provided that, on this particular festival in

the hill shrine, the work of *Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmyam* written by the donor should be read out before the God. No. 96 of Ś. 1413 (28th December 1491) is an agreement with a member of the Tirucchukanūr *Sabhā*, Aravaṇai Perumāḷ Dāsar Iḷayaperumāḷ Appaiyan. This provides for a number of festivals during which food-services were to be provided for. Incidentally it is mentioned that he had a *maṇṭapa* constructed in front of his own house. There is also mention of a shrine for Hanumān to which the God had to be taken on the new-moon day of the month of *Tai*. The whole provision made for this is 4,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources. The usual distribution of the *prasāda* is also provided for. The next record No. 100 of Ś. 1414 (21st December 1492) is an agreement with one Timmaṇa, son of a member of the Tirucchukanūr *Sabhā*. He paid 300 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for a number of food-services on festival days specified. He paid 3,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury for this purpose to be applied again for the improvement of irrigation resources. The next one, No. 101 of Ś. 1415 (15th June 1493), is an agreement with one Tammaiya, son of the Bhaṭṭa Dhattirāja of Guṇakuṇḍai. This makes a certain number of food provisions for the image of Nṛsimha within

the temple on the thirty days of the month of *Mārgaḻi*, and for other festivals mentioned. The amount paid is 300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and detailed provision is made for these. Incidentally there is an interesting reference to Vaṇ Śaṭagōpa Jīyar, who is said here to be the spiritual preceptor of this donor. This Jīyar and his succession of disciples come in for mention here as the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda*. The next is No. 102 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493). This is an agreement with Bhaṭṭarpirān Jīyar, a disciple of a Jīyar of the same name. He paid 200 *paṇam*, to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources to provide for a food-service on the birthday asterism of his Āchārya. The food-service was to be rendered to the God, and subsequently to Uḍaiyavar, that is, Rāmānuja. The donor's share of the food was to be distributed among those in the shrine of the Uḍaiyavar. The next one No. 103 of Ś. 1415 (30th June 1493) is an agreement with Periya Narasāmbhā, the wife of Periya Timmarāja Uḍaiyār already referred to with various titles. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for a food-service on the flag-hoisting day in a pavilion called *Anandān Piḻḻai*, which had fallen into disrepair, and which she repaired at her own expense. She made an additional provision of 400 *paṇam* for food-service on certain other

festivals. The whole of the sum of 1,400 *paṇam* ought to be applied to the improvement of the tank in the temple village of Koṟṟamangalam and from the increased income was to be rendered royal services in her name. The donor's share of the food was to be given to the Śrī Vaishṇavas who looked after the garden of *Anandān Piḷḷai*. The next one No. 104 of the same date is a donation by one Lakshmī Amman, sister of the same Timmarāja Uḍaiyār. She deposited 1,000 *paṇam* for one royal service as in the former case, and the amount was to be applied to the improvement of the tank in the temple village Tiramanēri. She also repaired the pavilion called *Tirumaḻiśai Pirān*, and provided for those who maintained the garden round it being given the donor's share of the food. No. 105 of Ś 1415 (8th August 1493) coming from the Gōvindarāja temple is an agreement with two members of the Tirucchukanūr *Sabhā*, Astigiri Nādar, son of Perīya Perumāḷ Dāsar Śoṭṭai Bhaṭṭar and another Aḻahappirān. This makes provision for a certain number of services of sweet-cakes on a certain number of specified days, for which he paid 200 *paṇam* to be applied for agricultural improvements. There is incidentally mention of a Chitrakūṭa *maṇṭapa* in Tirupati, probably in the Gōvindarāja temple. The next one is No. 106 of Ś. 1415 (19th August 1493). It is an agreement with one Emberumānār

Jīyar, who was the superintendent of the temple and looked after the flower garden named Pērarulālar. This is an interesting document. It refers to the free gift of a village on the south bank of the Kāveri in the Tiruvārūr division in Uyyakkondaśōla Valanādu. This belonged to the western division and was part of Tirumihaicchūr, sub-division. The name of the village was Maruttuvakkudi. Of the same Chōlamandalam, there was another village called Vālaikkulaicchēri. These two villages he got granted by Kōnēri Rāja, the divisional officer, for food-services in the temple at Tirupati in the name of the said Kōnēri Rāja. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by those who looked after the Pērarulālar flower garden in Tirupati.

Nos. 107 and 108 both of the year Ś. 1415 (Aug. and Sept. 1493) are two benefactions in the usual form by one Yatirāja Jīyar and Periya Perumāl Dāsar Ariyālaya Mudaliyār Appaiyan. There is nothing noteworthy about them. No. 109 of Ś. 1415 (17th October 1493) is by Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar. He is described as the son of Śottai Tirumalainambi Tiruvēngada Aiyangar of the Śatamarshana *gōtra* and Āpastamba *Sūtra*. He deposited 3,500 *panam* for a number of services of sweet-cakes both for Śrīnivāsa and Gōvindarāja. He

also paid another 1,500 *paṇam* for a number of services of sweet-cakes both for Śrīnivāsa and Gōvindarāja. He also paid another 1,500 *paṇam* for a royal food-service in the name of his disciple Kumāra Kulaśēkhara Mēdini Rao Timmanāyaka. Among other services included in this is one food-service, in a pavilion that he himself built in Tirupati, on a particular day for the beginning of the recital of the *Prabhanda*. This large sum was to be applied in the same manner as others for the permanent improvement of the irrigation facilities of the temple lands and the service to be rendered from the income thereof. No. 110 of Ś. 1415 (8th January 1494) is a benefaction by one Araiyaranga Dāsar Āṇḍa Perumāḷ Śokkaṇṇan, a member of the Tirucchānūr *Sabhā*. He made provision for certain food-services both in the hill shrine and the temple below in the name of his elder brother Malaiyaṇṇan. He deposited 1,080 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for the purpose of this service. There is a reference to the temple of Raghunātha in Lower Tirupati and a part of the town called Śokkarkoḍi, probably the end of a street or some other point of importance in the town. No. 111 is of Ś. 1415 (8th January 1494). This is a record that comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and refers to the deposit of 1,240 *paṇam* by two members of the assembly of Tirucchānūr. This refers to a

maṇṭapa built by these people to which the God was taken on certain occasions. No. 112 of Ś. 1415 (10th February 1494) is a benefaction by a *Śeṭṭi* merchant of Tirupati. His name is given as Kuḷattuḷār Pudōli Āḻvār Venkaṭa Śeṭṭy Nārāyaṇan, which would mean of course Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭy, son of Venkaṭa Śeṭṭy. He apparently belonged to a place indicated by the first name, and the second name Pudōli Āḻvār refers to a Vishṇu shrine in Pudōli in the Nellore District, where one of the Yādavarāyas built a Vishṇu temple in a previous generation; which would mean that this Śeṭṭi family migrated from there and settled in Tirupati. This refers to a deposit of 600 *paṇam* for food-services on certain festival days. The next one is No. 114 of Ś. 1415 (9th March 1494). This refers to a donation by an accountant of the temple, Nārāyaṇan, son of Anantapāla. He is described as of the same family as that of the hereditary accountants. He is said to have built a *maṇṭapa* in front of Śrī Karaṇan Maṭha in a street called Mēṭṭu Maṭham Street. He paid 200 *paṇam* for ten sweet-cakes services. The money was to be applied as in other cases. The usual distribution of food is also provided for. No. 115 is by two accountants of the same family. This refers to a deposit of 401 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services. Among them is an interesting

one in which the God on the hill shrine is said to have heard the Kaiśikapurāṇam read. It also makes provision for food-services to *Ponmēynda Perumāḷ*, Narasinga Perumāḷ, and Ādi Varāha Perumāḷ. The first one probably has reference to Śrīnivāsa of the main shrine, the *vimāna* of which was covered over with gold more than once, as was already stated. Of course, as usual, it makes provision for services on a certain number of festivals both in the hill shrine, and in that of Gōvindarāja. No. 116 is of the same date. This seems to refer to a donation by two accountants of the temple and alludes to a *maṇṭapa* built by their grandfather in Tirupati. A deposit of 602 *paṇams* was made to be applied as usual, from the income of which the expenses had to be met. No. 117 is an agreement with four people, who seem to have been of the family of the accountants of the temple. This is a donation in favour of the Gōvindarāja shrine, and the record itself comes from there. It was a deposit of 219 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services on the birthday asterism in the month of *Panguni* of Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, their spiritual preceptor. No. 118 of the same date is again an agreement with one of the temple accountants for a provision on the day of opening accounts on the first day of *Āḍi* that is, *Dakshiṇāyana day*. It has reference to

Gōvindapperumāḷ being taken to the shrine of Tirumangai Āḻvār. This is also from the Gōvindarāja temple. He made the deposit to be applied as usual for services when the God should be taken out to a *maṇṭapa* on the banks of a new tank in Tirupati. Record No. 128 of Ś. 1416 (8th July 1494) refers to an agreement with the well-known Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the superintendent of the feeding house. It refers to a village granted to him by the Rāyar, that is, the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagar, which is said to have been situated in Koṇḍavāli *Śīrmai*, where he is said to have constructed an irrigation tank which he called Ayōddhirāma Samudram, which he made over for the benefit of the hill shrine, the Gōvindarāja shrine and the shrine of Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār. This was to be applied for a number of services, and the distribution of food is also provided for, the charity house figuring prominently in it. No. 130 of Ś. 1416 (24th December 1494) is a benefaction by a Śaraṇu Śeṭṭi, son of Tirumalai Thammu Śeṭṭi, a resident of Narasingarāyapuram in Tirupati. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* built by him in Narasingapuram, the God being taken over there on certain festival days. The deposit was 480 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, from the income from which the expenses of the service should be met No. 131 of Ś. 1416 (28th December

1494) refers to a deposit of 2,000 *paṇam*, and is an agreement between the *stānattār* and the Piḷḷai Tiruppaṇi Bhaṇḍāram which would mean the office of the works; but the term Piḷḷai is not clear in this connection unless it be a second office, somewhat like a sub-office. This refers to two food-services in the name of one Lingāyamman and Nāgappa Uḍaiyār which hitherto were being conducted on payment of cash every year. Now they were transmuted into a permanent service by the payment of the deposit which was to be applied as usual, the expenses of the service being met from the income. No. 132 of Ś. 1416 (10th Jan. 1495) by certain residents of Paramēśvaramangalam refers to a deposit of 300 *paṇam* for various services in the hill shrine and the one below. The usual distribution of food is also provided for. No. 133 of Ś 1417 (1st July 1495) by the famous Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan is an important document referring to Immaḍi Narasimharāya Mahārāja. This was an effort at renewing and renovating the jewels, silver and gold vessels etc., both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine in the name of Immaḍi Narasimharāya. Rāmānuja Aiyan undertook the expenses of it from out of the savings of the villages granted by the king for the Kulaśēkhara shrine and the *Rāmānuja-kūṭas* at Tirupati. The income from the town of

Narasingapuram built by Rāmānuja Aiyan in the name of the sovereign, the income coming from the *sandai* (village bazaar), *makamai*, taxes and *kuttakai* (rent), and from the savings from various other services under these. He was made responsible for renewing these from time to time from these savings, and handing them over for service to the temple. An order was received to this effect. The details of how he managed to save 3,000 *paṇam* every year from out of various services to the temple are detailed. A number of food-services are specified from out of which he saved 1,000, and then he saved 1,000 from the income of Narasimharāyapuram, and another 1,000 from the improvement that he effected in the villages made over to him by the Rāyar for the purposes of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* With these savings the repairs and renovations were effected, and the agreement was entered into making him and his successors responsible for this duty to the temple. The next one No. 134 of Ś. 1417 (31st August 1495) is also an agreement with the same individual. It provides for a deposit of 6,000 *paṇam* into the temple treasury, to be applied for purchasing 4⅝ units of land in the Śirukkārvēṭṭai village, 1,300 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of *Rāmānujan Kālvāy* (previousily constructed by him) and another 1,560 *paṇam* for another *Rāmānujan Kālvāy* to be newly dug up at

Mallāpuram. From the income arising from these improvements a large list of services were to be provided for, one item constituting 92 sweet cakes services, four services of a pudding called *sukiyan*, and four pots of sweet drink, and a number more of services throughout the year. He deposited another sum of 500 *paṇam* to be applied for meeting similar other sundry services on the occasion of the *Tiruvadhyayana Utsava* on the 24 days in the pavilion *Rāmānuja* in the street called after Rāmānuja, and other similar services. The usual distribution of the donor's share of the food is also provided for. No. 135 of Ś. 1418 (26th Aug. 1496) is again by the same individual. This refers to Rāmānuja Aiyan's construction of a garden and an irrigation tank with a pavilion in the flower garden where he ordered a certain number of services. All this was within the limits of Tiramanēri village. For a further service that he provided for, he acquired a *sarvamānya agrahāra* in the name of the deity and made it over to the temple, marking it off with boundary stones carrying the marks of Vishṇu's disc. From out of the income from this a certain number of services were provided for, to be rendered to God in the *maṇṭapa* previously constructed. The bulk of the donor's share of the food was to be distributed among the occupants of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* through the

Dharmakarta of the institutions. A certain number of cash payments were also provided for, about a dozen, most of them to people employed in the temple for various services in connection with the temple, followed by another list of a number of inferior servants. He is said also to have provided for service in the twelve *maṇṭapas* on the way to the temple from the Nāvalūru *maṇṭapa* of Kandāḍai Tiruvēngaḍattaiyan, for which a separate payment of 390 *paṇam* were deposited. No. 136 of Ś. 1418 (21st December 1496) is by Kandāḍai Appāchchiyār Aṇṇa. This is for a service on the days of ablution every fortnight of the God and the Goddess when a poem, an *Ulā* in Tamil, composed in honour of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan was to be read and heard, and a certain number of food-services rendered for which Appāchchi Aṇṇa paid 1,500 *paṇam*. This sum was to be applied for the purchase of *sarvamānya* lands in the village Kaḍappēri in the Kalavaipparṟu of the Paḍaivīḍurājya from their present owners, from the income from which the expenses of the service were to be met. The next one is No. 137 of Ś. 1419 (3rd June 1497) is an agreement with one Periya Perumāḷ Dāsar, a bachelor *sanyāsi* in charge of *Pin-señṟa-villi* garden, and a disciple of Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar. He deposited 1,200 *paṇam* to be applied for the

improvement of temple villages, the income from which was to be used for meeting the expenses of the installation of an image of Rāmānuja in the Raghunātha temple on the hill shrine, and for a food-service to Gōvindarājapperumāḷ. This was an agreement to last for ever, and to be conducted by his disciples in succession. No. 140 is again an agreement with Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, the superintendent of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* and the golden treasury of Tiruvēngaḍanātha. This is a payment of 5,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and from the income thereof provision had to be made for a daily service in his own name on his birthday, and for a certain number of other small services. The inscriptions that follow, twenty-five or thereabouts, are all of them imperfect and are of the same general character as those previous. They do not contain anything of importance for special notice.

SALUVA BENEFACTIONS AND THEIR CHARACTER. The inscriptions that we have so far considered of the period of Sāḷuva rule in Chandragirirājya show us that the temples in Tirupati, both on the hill and below, were recipients of benefactions in large numbers from private individuals. These benefactions were generally of the character of services of various kinds to God in the shape of food-services, arrangements for festivals, or

attention to other needs of the temples and temple life. For these services the means were provided in a form which seems almost deliberately planned to build up the resources of the temple permanently, and the expenses of the services were to be met from the income thus provided for. We are not quite able to see how exactly this came about; but we see it almost uniformly in the case of all benefactions when a fairly large amount is paid into the temple treasury generally with specific instructions to apply these to improve the agricultural condition of temple lands by works of irrigation and other connected agricultural improvements, with a view to enhancing the income from the lands. Oftentimes this involves the donation of a much larger sum than perhaps would be needed for the particular services merely. There are a few instances, however, in which villages got to be granted directly or even smaller pieces of land. There are half a dozen villages granted by Sāḷuva Narasimha, and just about three or four by other individuals, all these being classed as *sarvamānya*, which involves the payment to the temple of not only whatever is due to the landlord as such, but also whatever may be due to the government from those lands. Neither Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, nor the more important officials under him, were satisfied merely

with these. They oftentimes provided the wherewithal to construct irrigation canals at their own expense and provide for other similar improvements as well. Apart from these, they also provided for buildings and other amenities attached to the one or other of the temples, and for improving the general amenities of the town. The general form of these were large pavilions or *maṇṭapās*; the thousand-pillared *maṇṭapa* in the hill shrine near the front *gōpura* and a similar *maṇṭapa* in the street in front of the temple of Śrī Gōvindarāja alike were provided by officers of the government. A certain number of feeding houses particularly for Brahmans of the Vaishṇava persuasion, and some even for others were built by various people, Sāḷuva Narasimha himself being responsible for some. Provision was made for supplying food here from out of the food-services to the temple, and this part of the administration was entrusted to one Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, who seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the ruler himself and his administration. He was entrusted with the superintendence of these feeding houses and made responsible for the distribution of food in these. This person himself was largely responsible for some of these institutions which he had himself constructed and for others' benefactions, for providing the annual supply, generally by

means of *sarvamānya* lands, or by providing the means for improving cultivation by transforming dry lands into wet lands by fresh irrigation works; and for building similar pavilions in salient points of the town for the God to halt on occasions of *yātra* ceremonies in which the images are carried round the town. One other special feature seems to have appealed specially; the building of tanks and wells, and maintenance of flower gardens for services in the temple. We find a large number of these are mentioned, and Sāḷuva Narasimha himself and his queen are responsible for two such gardens; and Sāḷuva Narasimha himself had constructed one of the *Kōnēris* (hill-tanks) in Tirupati and a number of *maṇṭapas* or pavilions round these tanks and amidst gardens elsewhere. Others followed the example as well. Other prominent features of their benefactions also find mention. The steps leading up the hill seem to have been already in existence and in use, although we do not know actually when they were constructed Sāḷuva Narasimha himself built the *gōpura* leading to the steps at the foot of the hill. Not far from it he built a shrine to God Nṛsimha, and between the two a big well or a tank. This Nṛsimha shrine was built in A. D. 1485, and the two Sanskrit *ślōkas* commemorating the event describe him as a *Sārvabhauma*,

perhaps indicating thereby that he had assumed sovereign rule over Vijayanagar. It was one of his cousins Parvata Rāja by name, who built a pavilion half way up the hill in the particularly steep part of the steps which goes by the popular name knee-breaker (*muḻangāl murippān*). This prince also provided for the supply of water in this particular *maṇṭapa*. There is a similar reference to the provision of a pavilion at the end of the first series of steps which took one over the longest, and perhaps the steepest, part of the way. Among other minor works we find mention of several buildings, gardens and other features mentioned, which are ascribed to Rāmānuja himself and his contemporaries, according to the *Itihāsamāla*, which incidentally indicate that these works ascribed to Rāmānuja were not all of them altogether apocryphal.

OTHER BENEFACTIONS OF A DIFFERENT CHARACTER. Among the benefactions of private individuals we come upon a certain number which were instituted in honour of the ruler Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, the heir-apparent, Immaḍi Narasimha and even other prominent individuals, such as the administrative officer Mannār Piḷḷai, a prominent citizen like Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar and a number of others. There is

mention of the building of a temple to Raghunātha in Lower Tirupati in the shrine of Rāmānuja, as the deity worshipped by Rāmānuja habitually was Rāma or Raghunātha. Similarly we find a benefaction by which the image of Rāmānuja is installed in the temple to Rāma within the shrine on the hill which Rāmānuja himself is said to have set up. The mention of a flower garden on the way to *Ākāśaganga*, and called Kumāra Rāmānuja has its own tale to tell. This Kumāra Rāmānuja was the son of Tirumalai Nambi, Rāmānuja's uncle, and the *Itihāsamāla* has the story that this young man, who predeceased his father, was engaged in the service of water to the temple from the *Ākāśaganga*. He made a garden which he called Rāmānuja in the name of the great Āchārya. That garden is under reference, and God is said to be taken on occasions of certain festivals to this garden, and on one festival even to *Ākāśaganga*. These details which are given in the pages above go to indicate that, with the advent of the Sāḷuvas to power, the interest in the temple at Tirupati grew, the local rulers as well as the people sharing that interest equally. There are also records of two benefactions in the form of granting villages from the far off Tanjore District, one round about Tiruvārūr and another near Mannārguḍi.

AN OLD STONE MANTAPA, ONE OF THE MANY THAT WERE BUILT

(*To face page 72*)

ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO VIJAYANAGAR RULERS. Notwithstanding the details in which this interest is exhibited by the rulers, their officials and even private individuals, there is not one mention of the rulers of Vijayanagar except perhaps reference to the institution like the *Bukkarāyan Sandhi.* Beyond that we do not come upon any reference to the persons actually ruling from Vijayanagar, which would be strange enough ordinarily but for the fact which we know that Sāḷuva Narasimha began like many other officers, an officer of state, but gradually remained aloof perhaps because he disapproved of certain things at the headquarters particularly when emperor Mallikārjuna died and was succeeded by his brother Virūpāksha. Even during the eight years of Mallikārjuna's rule there is no reference to him although we have a record of Mallikārjuna having exhibited anxiety in regard to the affairs of that portion of the empire which was under the control of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Those were days of anxiety for the empire through the activities of the Bahmani Sultans, and much more largely by the active extension of the influence of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. As the Bahmani Kingdom grew weaker, the power and influence of these Gajapatis rose, and during the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha's active life, the preoccupation of the eastern half of the Vijayanagar

empire was to dislodge these rulers of Orissa from their hold upon the coast districts extending all the way down from the Gōdavari at Rajahmundry right down almost to the banks of the Kāveri. Sāḷuva Narasimha's preoccupations were to counteract these influences to the best of his ability, perhaps even independently of the empire of Vijayanagar, at the same time keeping the Bahmani Sultans at arm's length at least in the intervals that they were in a condition to resume aggressive activities. This culminated when the confusion in the empire called for his intervention actively and he had to take over the administration to save the empire from dismemberment. The only echo that we get of it is his being described as a *Sārva-bhauma* in the Sanskrit inscription relating to the temple of Lakshmī Nṛsimha he built at the foot of the steps.

IMMADI NARASIMHA AND KANDADAI RAMANUJA AIYANGAR. But the inscriptions actually take us to the time of Immaḍi Narasimha and the year A.D. 1404. It is by a special order of this ruler, and with his approval, that Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar was given the superintendence of the jewel-treasury of the temple on the hill and the commission to repair, renovate and even renew the jewels and vessels of gold and silver which

were used in the temple service. This he undertook to do successfully by finding the wherewithal for doing it from out of the temple resources that he himself had to administer. He effected economies from among the various services for which he was responsible, and utilised the savings that were already there by the benefactors having made provisions in excess, or because the incomes had increased in process of time. He also found a part of the money in the improved yields of the lands and villages that he had brought into cultivation by providing the irrigation resources for them. Thirdly he even secured tax-free lands either by gift or by purchase. So then there was active royal interest in the temple which might perhaps be regarded as personal and devotional. Royalty in the person of Sāḷuva Narasimha and his successor, showed an active interest as they occasionally directed the administration of affairs in the temple in a few cases by written orders and by personal direction. During the course of this period therefore, the temple organisation which had already come into existence had more or less been perfected and made more efficient, and the temple resources developed to the extent of providing for all the needs of the temple fairly adequately.

TWO ACHARYAS ASSOCIATED WITH TIRUPATI. Before passing on to the next following period, the glorious age of Krishṇadēvarāya for Tirupati, we shall have to consider two important names which tradition associated with the temple at Tirupati, namely, the Śrī Vaishṇava Āchārya Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar as he is called in secular records, and the founder of the Ahōbala *Maṭha* of the Śrī Vaishṇavas; and the Madhva Āchārya, named indifferently Śrī Vyāsatīrtha, or Vyāsarāyasvāmi. Tradition associates both of these with Tirupati; the first as one devoted to the temple of Śrīnivāsa, and as having rendered devoted service therein before he passed on from there to Ahōbalam from which he never returned. His was, according to Vaishṇava accounts, a long period of pontificate at the head of the *Maṭha* that he founded, and lasting for a long period of sixty years during which the *Maṭha* came into shape and assumed its present position of importance.

THE GURUPARAMPARA ACCOUNT OF VAN SATAKOPA. According to the *Gurupārampārā* accounts his long period of life was 1378 A. D. to 1460 A. D. That would mean the period covering the reigns of all the sovereigns of Vijayanagar from Harihara II right down to one half of the reign of Mallikārjuna. He would therefore have been

just contemporary with Sāḷuva Narasimha during the first years of his rule as governor of Chandragiri. But the inscriptions in Tirupati during this period do not make any mention of his having been in Tirupati, or of his having done anything there. This absence of inscriptions may not altogether warrant the conclusion that he was not in Tirupati during the period, although it would seem strange that, having regard to the number of inscriptions relating to the benefactions of private individuals in the period that we have just covered, the name of this *Jīyar* and his benefactions should find no mention. He is said to have been born in 1378 A. D. in distant Mēlkōṭṭai Tirunārāyaṇapuram, and received his education under his own father during the first twenty years of his life. It is after his twentieth year that he had to come down to Conjeevaram to complete his education under the well-known Āchārya Ghaṭikāśatam Ammāl who lived there. He is said to have gone from there to Ahōbalam, and it is after the assumption of the pontificate at the instance of the God there, that he really set out on his journeys, possibly to Tirupati pretty early. His stay in Tirupati therefore must have been in the early years of the 15th century, while yet the great Dēvarāya II was ruling the empire of Vijayanagar. The inscriptions relating to this

period we have dealt with in the section previous to the one just completed, and the inscriptional records generally were so to speak comparatively fewer, and we noticed that the names of the rulers of Vijayanagar themselves figure but rarely in these records. But that has really no connection with the absence of any records mentioning the donations of the *Jīyar*. The absence of records of this *Jīyar* and his donations in Tirupati could perhaps be accounted for by the fact that, unlike secular individuals, this ascetic Āchārya did not care to commemorate whatever he did by way of service to the temple, in records, which might smack of self-glorification. That probably is the reason why we do not come upon records of his, perhaps with the additional reason that the system of recording every benefaction to the temple in the temple records themselves had not established itself quite so firmly as in the somewhat later period of Sāḷuva rule.

VAN SATAKOPA IN SALUVA RECORDS. We have reference in three records of the period of the Sāḷuvas in which this *Jīyar's* name comes in for reference. The first one is No. 83 of Volume II of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions, which is a record of a benefaction by the temple accountant who calls himself Nallār Angāṇḍai with the generic

designation of these accountants in addition. This record comes from the Gōvindarājasvāmi temple, and is on the walls of the shrine. It refers here to a *maṇṭapa* or pavilion constructed in the front yard of the temple of Gōvindapperumāḷ, a pavilion which was constructed in former days by Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. From the flower pavilion, he seems to have constructed also a pavement with a stone roofing over it which either remained incomplete, or had fallen into repairs by this time, that is, Ś. 1407 or A.D. 1483. This accountant paid 2,000 *paṇam*, took the *maṇṭapa* over as it was, completed the roofing and arranged for a certain number of services. It details the festivals in which the God and the Goddesses should be taken to this pavilion on a pretty large number of occasions in the year for various kinds of worship and services there. The next record is No. 101 dated Ś. 1415 (eight years later) corresponding to 15th June 1493. This refers to a benefaction by a Brahman of Guṇakkuṇḍai by name Tammaiya, son of Dattirāja. He made provision for a certain number of festivals and services on a number of days in the year, and, among the recipients of the donor's share of the food-services, figures the line of disciples of Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa *Jīyar*, his own Āchārya, which clearly would indicate that by this time the *Jīyar* had a succession of disciples among whom he also

enrolled himself as one. By A.D. 1493 therefore Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar had already established his reputation as an Achārya, and could count upon a succession of disciples of his. The next record referring to him in this group is No. 112 in the temple at Tirupati on the hill, as the previous one. This document is an agreement with Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi, one among the Tirupati *Nagarattār*, that is Śeṭṭi-merchants, son of Venkaṭa Śeṭṭi belonging to the village of Kuḷattuḻār and bearing the title Pudōli Āḻvār. In the course of this document we come upon a reference to a pavilion (*maṇṭapa*) which goes by the name Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa, and it refers also to Brahman strangers being in residence in this pavilion. This record is of the Ś. date 1415 corresponding to A.D. 10th February 1494 by which time the *Jīyar's* reputation was high enough for somebody to build a *maṇṭapa* in his name, or it may be that he himself constructed the pavilion. But the point to be noted is that the *māṇṭapa* had already been established and festivals in connection therewith also had been instituted. So then we see that, from the inscriptional evidence itself, Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar was already a well-known personality, and had been associated with Tirupati in a way to indicate that he was resident there for some time and had rendered service which left memorials behind. But

whether the actual dates given for his life above from the *Guruparampara* could be regarded as accurate, we shall consider when we come to the next period in which his association with Tirupati comes in for reference.

SRI VYASARAYA. In regard to the other Āchārya, Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi we have no evidence in the records at all. According to a poetical work, a Champukāvya called *Śrī Vyāsayōgicharitam* by one Sōmanātha Kavi, this Āchārya is said to have exercised a considerable amount of influence at the court of Sāḷuva Narasimha and was enthroned, with the greatest honour both by him, and by his successor-rulers of Vijayanagar. The claim has been put forward in his favour that he was done the honour of occupying the imperial throne, and that he was given charge of the Tirupati shrine which he held for no less than twelve years. There is no reference whatsoever to any of these incidents in the inscriptions of this period as also in those of the period preceding.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF VIRA NARASIMHARAYA.

Before proceeding to take up the inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya, we shall have to consider a certain number of inscriptions that are dated in the interval between the last known date of Immaḍi Narasimha in the previous volume, namely the year A.D. 1504, and A.D. 1509 when Krishṇadēvarāya actually came to the throne. The first inscription in volume III of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions comes from the Tirumalai shrine of Ś. 1426 (A.D. 4th Sept. 1504). This is a grant by one Rāmanāyakar, son of Periya Ōbalanāyaka, described as Mahānayangar Āchārya, which would mean the great respected Nāyak of the empire. He seems to have held the chief command of the forces, and perhaps also the highest civil authority, during the reigns of the Sāḷuva rulers as well as their successors going down to Krishṇadēvarāya. This document refers to the grant of a village called Kūḍalūr from the income of which a certain number of services had to be rendered in the temple. These are food-services called *Nāyaka-Taḷigai* here which means perhaps the food-services usual to be rendered by officials of rank, and for a service of

rice pudding (*Iḍḍali*) and for a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Raghunātha within the precincts of the hill temple. He brought royal authority for instituting these services, and granted the village of Kūḍalūr in Tirukkuḍavūr Nāḍu for irrigating which he constructed a canal from Ālipuram. He also granted one hundred cows for supplying the ghee for the perpetual lamp. The royal edicts referred to here must be an order from the ruling sovereign of Vijayanagar at this date actually, Immaḍi Narasa's reign, and this record belongs really to the previous volume. The next one of Ś. 1426 also (19th Sept. 1504) is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Anusandhānam Tiruvēngaḍa Jīyar, the keeper of the Tiruvēngaḍanāthan flower garden. He made provision for a number of services on various festival days in the year by a deposit of 12,000 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation tanks and canals in temple villages as usual, from the income of which the expenses of the services were to be met. There is nothing calling for any special remark in this record. The next one is of Ś. 1426 also (A.D. 28th Oct. 1504). This is a grant of 360 *paṇam* by a Rāmānuja Timmaiya Jīyar for certain services in his name. The amount deposited was to be applied as in the other cases. The next one is of Ś. 1427 (A.D. 1st March 1506). This is a

benefaction by one Dharmāpuram Sittāmu Śeṭṭi, a merchant resident at Tirupati. The donor belonged to the *Nagarattār*, resident in Narasingarāyapuram, a part of Lower Tirupati. It provided for a certain number of services on the fortnightly bath days of the goddess, for which he paid 3,500 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of irrigation resources of temple villages, and the income utilised for the purpose. One interesting reference in this is that, among the recipients of the food, after service to God, was the single man in charge of the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpar Maṭham, which would mean that this Maṭham was founded by the first Jīyar of Ahōbala Maṭh, which had already been in existence and was placed in charge of a special bachelor. No. 5 of Ś. 1427 (A.D. 5th March 1506) is a deposit of 840 *paṇam* by one Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappar of Hārīta *gōtra* and Satyāshāḍa *sūtra*. The amount was to be applied for the same purpose as before for an income to meet the expenses of the various services during a number of days in the year. No. 6 is of Ś. 1428 (12th Oct. 1506). This was an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Appā Piḷḷai, son of Karavaṭṭi Puliyāḻvār of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra* of Uttaramērūr, otherwise Mahīpālakula-kālaochēri. This Appā Piḷḷai made provision for four food-services in his name, and for the expenses

thereof constructed, at his own expense, an irrigation canal with its head at the temple village of Pādi leading the water down to the village of Taṇḍalam to bring the hitherto uncultivated lands into cultivation. He made no money deposit. He provided also for the maintenance of two gardens, one called Mannasamudram-Tirunandavanam, and the other in his own name, for the maintenance of which he provided for the payment of 12 *paṇam* every month for the Vaishṇavas in charge. Probably all this expenditure was to be met from the new lands brought into cultivation. The next one No. 7 is of Ś. 1428 (30th December 1506). The donor was one Rāmānuja Aiyan, son of Śaṭakōpadāsa Narasingarāya Mudaliār. He paid 1,600 *paṇam*, of which 1,200 *paṇam* was to be utilised for services in his own name in the Tirumalai temple, and 400 *pāṇam* for services in the Gōvindarāja shrine. This was paid in two parts, one half of the amount was spent for acquiring ⅛th of one half of the village called Munnaikkuḻi, otherwise Dēvarāyapuram, of which one half already belonged to the temple. From the other half which was owned by Tiruvikrama Bhaṭṭa, son of Sarvagña Bhaṭṭa, he acquired ⅛th share. The other half of his donation of 800 *paṇam* he paid in cash. The cash deposit was to be applied

as in the other cases, and provision for the services made from the income accordingly. No. 8 of Ś. 1428 (19th May 1506) is by Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappar already referred to in No. 5. But he is described as the resident of Tiruveṇṇainallūr, obviously the well-known place of the name in the South Arcot District. It provides for services on a variety of days during the year, both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine, for which he made a deposit of 680 *paṇam* into the temple treasury to be applied for improvements as usual. The grant was specifically made to be perpetual. No. 9 of Ś. 1428 (4th September 1506) is again by Appā Piḷḷai already referred to in No. 6. He is said to have built a pavilion in the midst of a tank in front of the kitchen of Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on certain festival days. A number of other provisions for festivals during the year is also provided for. He is said to have paid into the treasury, on the date of the record, 3,080 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the temple villages, and the income was to be applied for the purposes of these services. The next one No. 10 of Ś. 1429 (2nd June 1507) is again by Uddaṇḍarāyar Ulahappan and refers to a deposit of 1,200 *paṇam*. The amount was to be applied as usual and provided for a certain number of festivals.

Among them figure Tiruvāḻi Āḻvān (Vishṇu's discus) in the big front gateway tower of the Gōvindarāja shrine, and festivals to Raghunātha within the temple are also mentioned in this connection. No. 11 of Ś. 1429 (4th October 1507) is a donation of 8,305 *paṇam* by one Tippu Śeṭṭi, son of Dēva Śeṭṭi, one of the *Nagarattār* in Nārasingapuram. It provides for services and a number of festivals, and, among them, we come upon the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpan *Maṇṭapam*. It provides for a pretty large number of services in which figure almost all the Gods and shrines in Tirupati including the pavilion of Kumāra Rāmānuja. There is also an elaborate list of distribution of the *prasāda*, to various parties. No. 12 is a mere record of the invocation of blessings upon the donor and writer of the record. Properly speaking this should form a part of record No. 11. No. 13 comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1430 (18th July 1506). This is again a donation by Appā Piḷḷai. This donation of 7,800 *paṇam* was deposited by this officer for the benefit of the Gōvindarāja shrine. It makes provision for a swing festival to Gōvindarāja for the spiritual merit of Vīra Narasingarāya Mahārāya. This is dated the month of July, 1506, just about a year after Vīra Narasingarāya's accession to the throne. The money was to be applied as usual for the

improvement of the irrigation resources, and provides an elaborate list of the occasions in which various services have to be rendered, and mentions incidentally certain works carried out on behalf of the temple by this very general. For instance here is a reference to the pavilion in the middle of the tank which Appā Piḷḷai is said to have himself built. There is an equally elaborate list of distribution of the food after the festivals, and there is a further list of articles wanted for this new festival as also a certain number of money disbursements to various people connected therewith, all of which is provided for with punctilious care. This service was to be, as several other services connected with the temple, perpetual. No. 14 is as usual an agreement of the temple with a Vaishṇava resident of Tirumalai by name Ulahappar, son of Uddaṇḍarāyar of Hārīta *gōtra* and Satyāshāḍa *sūtra*. This is provision for a service in his own name, another in that of his elder brother, Nallaṇṇan, and an elder sister Anantā, and provides for a certain number of services. There is incidentally a reference to a street in the name of Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyan, who, we already referred to as the son of Tirumalai Nambi and the maternal cousin of Rāmānuja. There is nothing else of particular importance to note in this record. It contains as usual the arrangements

resulting from these services instituted. No. 15 is an agreement with two people, Rāmaiya and Timmaiya, sons of Narasingarāya Mudaliār, apparently brothers, and Vaishṇavas of the locality. This is provision for a certain number of services in their own name. Among them is one which relates to a pavilion built by these. There is also a reference to a festival in which the God is taken to the pavilion in the midst of the tank built by Appā Piḷḷai to which there is a reference in the previous record. Then follows an elaborate list of the arrangements for which a deposit of 1,900 *paṇam* was made to be applied in the first instance for the improvement of the temple lands. Further down the record there is a reference also to a *maṇṭapa* constructed by Appā Piḷḷai within the precincts of the temple of Gōvindarāja. So Appā Piḷḷai's services were elaborate in Tirupati. No. 16 of Ś. 1430 (31st Oct. 1508) is a benefaction by the Kōmaṭis of the locality headed by Pachchai Lingi Śeṭṭi as he is called, of the Paulastya *gōtra*. It is an elaborate list of services instituted by various members of this community, each one for his own spiritual merit, and some for the merit of the community as a whole. There is reference in the course of the document to a special pavilion constructed by this community in the midst of the flower garden *Malaikkiniyaninṛān*. There is also reference to

a *maṭha* of the same name, which is described as belonging to this community. The total amount of the donation is 5,030 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and the expenses of the services were to be met from the income thereof. The usual elaborate list of distribution follows. No. 17 is of date Ś. 1431, which would be equivalent to A.D. 1509, and seems to be a record of the construction of a Hanumān shrine and its consecration by Karavaṭṭi Puli Āḷvār. This is the name by which the father of Mannār Piḷḷai and Appā Piḷḷai was known. This brings us to the year of accession of Krishṇadēvarāya.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE RECORDS OF THE PERIOD: The period covered by these few records relates to the reign of Vīra Narasimharāya, the elder brother of the great Krishṇadēvarāya. The period of the Sāḷuvas lasted from A.D. 1485 to A.D. 1504 or even A.D. 1505, in the middle of which year Immaḍi Narasimha's rule came to an end. The history of the period, and the actual manner in which the rule of Immaḍi Narasimha came to an end are alike shrouded in uncertainty and doubt. Immaḍi Narasimharāya, otherwise known as Dharmarāya, succeeded his father, who, while expressing anxiety that his son should succeed, prudently entrusted the administration to his tried general

and friend Narasā Nāyaka. Narasā Nāyaka seems to have carried on the administration in the name of the prince till the year A.D. 1505. When Sāḷuva Narasimha died, he apparently left Immaḍi Narasimha and two other sons, and the murder of the princes recorded in Nuniz' narrative would seem to imply the murder of the two princes other than Immaḍi Narasimha, who could have been by no means children. Whatever may have been the motive which brought about this murder, whether it be with the object of discrediting Narasā Nāyaka implicating also Immaḍi Narasimha or not, Immaḍi Narasimha's rule lasted from A.D. 1492 to A.D. 1505, the actual administration having been carried on, with the advice of Narasā Nāyaka. How Immaḍi Narasimha's rule actually came to an end, whether he left any heirs to succeed him or not, remain shrouded in doubt in the material so far made available to us for this period of Vijayanagar history. A study of the inscriptions of the period does not seem to give us any authority for, or even lend colour to, the assumption that Narasā Nāyaka did anything which could justify the charge of his having usurped the Vijayanagar throne. He seems to have carried on the administration as before in behalf of Immaḍi Narasimha so long as he lived, and perhaps in the interest of his children if any,

when he died. Anything that would savour of the assumption of imperial authority we do not find associated with Narasā Nāyaka. It seems to be Vīra Narasimha that assumed the imperial titles, and thus became real usurper if he should be so called. Whether he did so by any untoward act against the princes or because the ruling dynasty came to an end, is again left in doubt; but there seems to be comparatively little doubt about his assumption of authority, and, perhaps the manner in which he did it, made people believe that he usurped the throne, and that perhaps was actually the cause of the rebellions and discontent during his reign.

VIRA NARASIMHA'S REIGN. From all we are able to see, his accession to the throne was the signal for a general rebellion in the more distant provinces, and Vīra Narasimha had to exert himself to bring the powerful officers and governors back to allegiance to him. He seems fully to have succeeded except for the region round Kānchi and the territory of the Ummattūr chiefs, who held high authority under Vīra Narasimha. Vīra Narasimha's reign therefore, beginning A.D. July 1505 and coming to an end in March to A.D. July 1509, was a period of disturbances and turmoil, although, on the whole, he maintained the position of the empire except for the two regions already

referred to. Of course the northern frontier against the Bahmani kingdom must have been uncertain, and the aggressions of the Orissa rulers must have continued as well. Krishṇadēvarāya succeeded about that time, between April and July A.D. 1509, and the earliest records we have of him refer to date October-November A.D. 1509. The earliest inscription referring to him in Volume III of the Dēvastānam inscriptions belongs to date 7th April 1511, almost two years after his accession to the throne actually. The only reference to Vīra Narasimharāya among the Tirupati inscriptions is in an inscription relating to Appā Piḷḷai's benefaction of date 18th July 1506, just about a year after his accession to the throne. There is nothing in these inscriptions to indicate that he either visited Tirupati, or did anything else to the shrine worthy of record in the temple. The records in Tirupati of the time of Sāḷuva Narasimha generally do not make any reference to the emperors for the time being. Inscriptions relating to the period of Immaḍi Narasimha and Vīra Narasimha do make occasional reference to the emperors, as we have noted already references to both. With the coming of Krishṇadēvarāya to the throne, we seem to enter altogether upon a new era. Krishṇadēvarāya shows himself to be a great devotee of the God

at Tirumalai, and not only paid as many as six visits, perhaps possibly seven, but he also made large numbers of rich donations to the temple to indicate his faith in, and dependence on the deity on the hill.

SIMILARITY OF CHARACTER OF THE BENEFACTIONS IN THIS PERIOD TO THE ONE PREVIOUS: The records of this period may be said to be of almost the same character as those of the previous periods, except for the difference that there is a much larger number of benefactions by royal officers; the rulers themselves are brought into connection indirectly, and sometimes even directly. The benefactions are mostly for services in the temple, and deposits of money are made on the same principle as hitherto with an eye to making temple lands more fruitful and yield more, so that the rise in the income may meet the expenses of the new services. There are a certain number of references to buildings which are as before generally of the nature of pavilions, gardens, etc. The indirect references to Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, the founder of the Ahōbala *Maṭha*, is one new feature, the interest of which is enhanced by the mention during this period of this Jīyar's *Maṭham*, of a *maṇṭapa* or pavilion in his name, and of a garden, which taken together would indicate that he did spend a part of his

time in Tirupati, and in a comparatively influential position either for carrying out these works himself, or inducing people to carry them out in his name. Notwithstanding the traditional association of the Madhvāchārya, Śrī Vyāsarāya, we have noted already that the Dēvastānam inscriptions do not lend support to the residence of the Vyāsarāyasvāmi in Tirupati during this period, although his name comes in for mention later. We shall have to consider again these two *Svāmis* in connection with Tirupati under Krishṇadēvarāya.

CHAPTER III.

TIRUPATI UNDER KRISHNADEVARAYA.

THE CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER SALUVA RULE. We now pass on to a glorious epoch in the history of Tirupati as we get into the reign of the great emperor Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar. The Dēvastānam inscriptions themselves give ample evidence of the great devotion of the ruler to the holy place and the deity enshrined therein. The devotion was so personal and intense, that the interest of the ruler in the well-being of the temple, as an institution catering to the religious needs of the people, is thrown completely into the background. It is hardly necessary to enquire whence came this great devotion of Krishṇa to Tirupati, an interesting question perhaps not coming exactly within the sphere of the shrine at Tirupati. The circumstances under which Krishṇadēvarāya became emperor, and the very critical character of the time in the history of the empire, might provide some explanation even for this personal feature. We noted already that Sāḷuva Narasimha ruled the empire for seven to eight years, and passed away without any formal declaration as to his assumption of the empire. He seems

to have remained content to carry on the administration without formally proclaiming to the world that he had assumed the position of Emperor. But the son had none of the considerations making for this delicacy of feeling, and Immaḍi Narasimha, when he succeeded to the throne, gave himself the full designation of the ruler of the empire. He could not have been the child that the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz' statement would make us infer. He must have been a man already; but that does not detract from the anxiety that the dying ruler felt for the safety of the empire, and his having given over charge of affairs to his own trusted lieutenant Narasā Nāyaka. The murder of the princes, not children again, must have been due to intrigues by parties unfavourable to Narasā Nāyaka's supreme position. Narasā Nāyaka managed to tide over these crises, and carried on the administration in the name of Immaḍi Narasimha, the Sāḷuva Emperor. When the Sāḷuva ruler died in his turn, Narasā Nāyaka was left in possession of the full power as the supreme head of the administration. But there is nothing in the documents available to us to indicate that he assumed any of the titles and distinctions characteristic of the actual position as emperor. It seems likely that during the short period that he had to conduct the affairs of the empire after

the death of Immaḍi Narasimha and before his own, he had hardly time to have come to a decision, or it may be that he had taken a decision to carry on the work of the empire without making himself objectionable by an act of usurpation. But whatever it be, we have no authority in the documents to infer that he assumed the titles of empire to be called legitimately a usurper. Whatever qualms Narasā Nāyaka had against the assumption of the imperial power, his son, when he succeeded the father in the important position, had none of those considerations of policy and perhaps even of loyalty ; and so Vīrā Narasimha, son of Narasā Nāyaka assumed full imperial titles, and thus definitely made himself usurper. That perhaps was the reason why his short reign, extending from about the middle of 1505 to the middle of 1509, was a period when all the more important governors of provinces were up in arms against him; and he had hard work to do to bring them back to allegiance with very considerable success. But even so, he left the empire in a condition to cause anxiety to those who were responsible for its maintenance and rule. Vīra Narasimha left very young sons, when actually the condition of the empire required a ruler of capacity to exercise his authority efficiently, and keep all the disturbing elements under control. As a matter

of fact almost in every case of succession in the Vijayanagar empire, we have evidence of some kind of a dispute or other. It seems more or less due to this governing consideration, the need of a strong ruler at the head, and that was more emphatically so at this period.

THE MANNER OF KRISHNA'S SUCCESSION MADE THE POSITION MORE ANXIOUS. If the statement of Nuniz should be accepted as correct, Krishṇa did not come to the throne without fear of his title being called into question. As a matter of fact the story is told that the chief Minister, Sāḷuva Timma, was ordered by the dying Vīra Narasimha that his grown up younger brother Krishṇa may be blinded in order that Narasimha's own children may succeed to the throne without any hitch as to the propriety of the succession, and that when Sāḷuva Timma actually attempted to carry out the commands of his master, Krishṇa dextrously managed to ingratiate himself with the powerful minister and escape the mutilation which otherwise would have been carried out. Whether this actually took place or not, we cannot say for certain. It was likely that parental anxiety got the better of the needs of the empire in the dying monarch. Whatever the actual facts may have been, Krishṇa succeeded to the empire, which was hardly in a condition of peace

internally; it had in addition two powerful neighbours, hostile to the interest of Vijayanagar, hanging over the northern frontier of the empire like dark lowering monsoon clouds, which might burst into a storm at the slightest provocation. The first of these was the Bahmani kingdom, somewhat distracted by its recent break up into five kingdoms, of which it was Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa that were really dangerous to Vijayanagar, sometimes Ahmadnagar next across playing a leading part. But the more active enemy at the moment happend to be the Gajapati rulers of Orissa who had been advancing gradually through the Telingana part of the Bahmani kingdom. They now advanced farther southwards, and had achieved a good hold upon the parts of the Vijayanagar empire almost as far down as the banks of the Kāveri along the coast, and perhaps even down to the foot of the plateau into the country of Kongu westwards. This they were able to do under Purushōttama Gajapati who had just died. He was succeeded by his son who goes by the name Pratāparudra II. Sāḷuva Narasimha, since the beginning of his career, had to battle against this advance of the Orissa rulers, sometimes aided by the Muhammadan rulers of the Bahmani kingdom, and it is this service to the empire that he rendered by keeping for thirty or forty years of his

active life this enemy at arm's length that made a great man of him, as a benefactor of the empire, and gave him the title to assume imperial responsibility, if not the name of the emperor. Neither under Narasimha I himself nor in the short reign of his successor, did the relation between the kingdom of Orissa and Vijayanagar attain to anything of a definitive character. So the problem of Vijayanagar in regard to its relation with Orissa and the Bahmani Sultans remained as uncertain and unsettled as ever before. Coupled with the disturbed internal condition of the empire under Vīra Narasimha, this made the position of the emperor of Vijayanagar at the moment one of very heavy responsibility, and therefore wanted, in the ruler, a man of capacity and unquestioned authority.

THE ANXIOUS POSITION OF KRISHNA AS EMPEROR. Krishṇadēvarāya, the younger brother of Vīra Narasimha, and the son of the great general Narasā Nāyaka through his second wife, as it seems, Nāgalādēvi, ascended the throne in succession to his elder brother, a half brother, Vīra Narasimha. Narasā Nāyaka had married not only these two wives, he seems to have had a third wife also and had two more sons, Ranga and Achyuta. They do not come into view here, as Krishṇa was the next man below Narasimha.

Whether Vīra Narasimha's children, or their friends, actually created any disturbance or not, Krishṇa was certainly on the throne, heir to the heavy responsibilities of the empire in a critical moment of its history. The first records of Krishṇa are dated in the July of the year A.D. 1509, Narasimha having died between May and July of the same year. There does not appear to have been much of an interval to justify the inference that there was a civil war, or even a fight for the throne. The moment that he ascended the throne, Krishṇa had to make sure of the loyalty of the feudatories of the empire. Then he had to proceed against just one or two powerful chieftains, such as the Śambuvarāyans round about Conjeevaram, and the Ganga ruler of Ummattūr before he could think of what he should do in respect of his northern frontier. Nuniz has put it on record somewhat graphically that the anxiety of Sāḷuva Narasimha on his death-bed was the possession of Muḍgal, Raichūr and Udayagiri by enemies; of course, at the time, the first two were in the hands of the Sultans of Bijapur and the last one in the possession of the rulers of Orissa. It was not merely a question of the possession of these key-fortresses, which in itself was certainly important; but it was something really more dangerous; namely, what exactly was to be

the permanent relation between the two northern kingdoms, the Bahmani kingdom and Orissa, and the empire of Vijayanagar. This should have been plain to everybody with any responsibility for the welfare of the empire, and, if there had been any dispute in respect of the succession, and, if Krishṇadēvarāya was actually chosen as a result of this dispute or discussion, it was wisdom's choice. Coming to the throne as he did in these circumstances, Krishṇa had to play his part in such a way as to justify the assumption of responsibility for the empire in the critical condition in which it was.

THE MAIN EVENTS OF KRISHNA'S REIGN. The sources of information for his reign are various. The number of inscriptions bearing on the particular period is large. There is much more of evidence for Krishṇa's reign in literature, as he was both a writer himself, but, far more, a great patron of letters and the arts. Taking the evidence of all these sources as a whole, the following may be regarded as a true outline history of his reign. The first point to call for attention immediately that he had succeeded, or, as soon as he felt sure of his succeeding his brother, was to enquire into the condition of the empire with a view to ascertaining the actual resources of the empire for one thing, and to assure himself of the

loyalty of the great lieutenants of the empire, the governors of the various provinces, for another. Some of the sources which pretend to give a full account of his reign state it solemnly that he called for a muster, and saw to it that such irregularities as were current were put an end to, and the forces of the empire actually available brought up to the scheduled level of strength. The next thing that he had to do was to place the administration on a footing satisfactory for his going out on a long absence, if need be. The part of the empire which called for his attention first happened to be the southern frontier where the Śambuvarāyans round Kānchi showed themselves restive, and the chief of Ummattūr who enjoyed a privileged position under the empire, seemed rather defiant of authority, probably having regard to the accession of the new ruler, Krishṇa. These had to be brought under control; and, more than this, such influence as that of the rulers of Orissa who had, as stated already, carried their conquests far down South India, had to be dislodged from such places where they affected to maintain a hold. Vīra Narasimha's efforts perhaps met with only partial success. As soon as this had been successfully done, and a further progress in the south showed on the whole he could depend upon the loyalty of these provinces, he made a progress from there

upward through the Mysore plateau taking Śrīrangapaṭām, and Ikkēri on the way. By this such of them as may have had inclinations at all to disregard the authority of the empire, were brought back to allegiance. He is said to have gone further and assured himself of the loyalty of the regions which happened to be the bone of contention between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom. There seems to have been not much occasion for war of any serious character, and Krishṇa could return to headquarters with the impression that the empire was on the whole sound. He therefore set about and arranged for a systematic campaign against the rulers of Orissa who still maintained their hold on the eastern part of the empire ever since the days of Sāḷuva Narasimha. The only other disturbing factor calling for attention was the establishment of the Portuguese in authority at Goa, thereby introducing an element of disturbance in the peaceful trade with the West, particularly in horses with Arabia and Persia. This trade was in the hands of the Muhammadans; and while, in Virūpāksha's reign, the massacre of these traders in Honovar brought about a disturbance to the regular import of horses, the Muhammadan horse trade was a matter he could not be indifferent to. The advent of the Portuguese therefore was an event

of importance from this point of view, and Krishṇa managed to come to a sort of a temporary arrangement. He received the Portuguese ambassador and directed negotiations with them some way without coming to any very definite understanding.

THE WAR AGAINST THE GAJAPATIS OF KALINGA. In the meanwhile preparations were going forward for his eastern campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. His first objective was Udayagiri, on which the Gajapati had acquired a firm hold. This meant not merely the possession of the single fortress, but a whole chain of fortresses northwards, the strong fortress of Koṇḍavīḍu, and, across the Krishṇā, Koṇḍapalli, and further northwards almost as far as Vizagapatam. This was to be a campaign of great magnitude even for the empire, and he felt that he must make adequate preparations and bring the relations between the empire and the aggressive power, to a definite understanding. He had to undertake three separate campaigns in regard to this, and gradually recover the fortresses one after the other in series. He went as far north as Simhādri not far from Vizagapatam, and erected a pillar of victory there, and, by threat of an attack on Cuttack and the destruction of his resources,

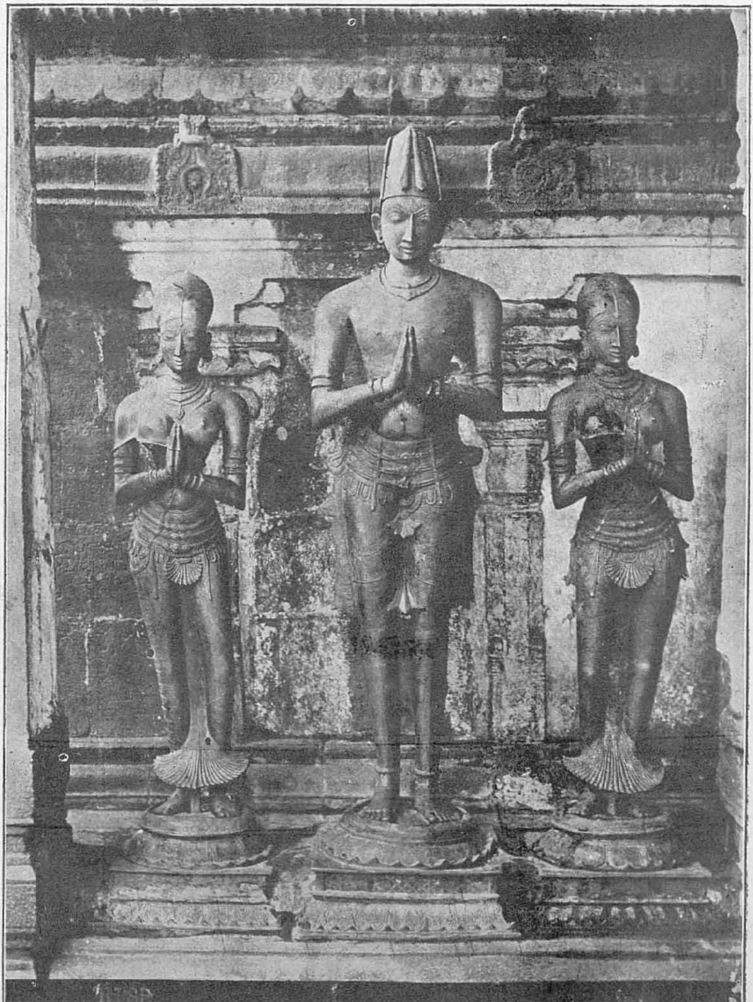
compelled the ruler of Orissa to come to terms with him, entering into a definitive treaty sealed by a marriage of the Gajapati's daughter with Krishṇa. That settled, he could return to headquarters, having accomplished perhaps the most important part of what he felt to be his duty to the empire. He could now turn his attention undisturbed to the Muhammadan power in the north, and come to an understanding with the Portuguese. Having beaten back the Sultan of Bijapur from Raichūr, which he attemped to take, he settled matters satisfactorily by infusing respect for his power among the Muhammadan Sultans in the neighbourhood. All this was achieved in six or seven years, and the remaining period of his reign, he could devote to the normal requirements of administration and the satisfactory maintenance of a court and of a government. He had married pretty early in life, and, almost at the outset of his reign, the two queens Tirumalādēvi, the queen proper, and Chinnādēvi. He married at least two more. We mentioned already the diplomatic marriage with the Orissa princess, and there is a record of his having married another by name Annapūrṇa. This last marriage seems to have come about after the death of Chinnādēvi. For some years he had no sons, and at last the queen Tirumalādēvi became

the mother of a son, some time in A.D. 1518, though unfortunately the prince died young, about A.D. 1525, in his sixth or seventh year. He seems to have had a number of daughters, perhaps not by the principal queen. The death of this heir seems to have unsettled him, and the last five years of his reign were somewhat disturbed and unhappy on this account, during which period the administration was carried on, in his name, by his brother Achyutarāya. He seems to have died in A.D. 1530 when Achyuta, as the next younger brother, succeeded to the throne. We stated already that he came to the throne in the middle of the year A.D. 1509, and he died about the end of the year A.D. 1530. It is just possible that he lived on for a few months in the following year, although it is not certain. During this reign of a score of years, he was able to place the empire on a satisfactory footing for permanence and settled administration.

KRISHNA'S VISITS TO TIRUPATI. Busy as the emperor Krishṇadēvarāya was during the first decade of his reign with administrative reform and the number of campaigns on which he had himself to lead his armies, he found time to pay as many as seven visits to Tirupati, on each one of which occasions he made presents and donations

to the deity and to the temple quite worthy of the imperial visit. His first visit to the temple was paid in the year *Āngīrasa* on a date corresponding to the 10th February 1513. On this occasion he presented a crown (*Kirīṭam*) set with the nine gems, and twenty-five silver plates for presenting lights of camphor to the God, on occasions of offering worship. He also presented in addition a chain, to be worn round the neck, of three strings, and of very costly workmanship. The king made it a habit to make a record of the benefactions of his to the temple in inscriptions couched in popular language, and in all the scripts and languages current in the locality. His record of this first visit is in eight inscriptions, in Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, in their respective languages. He also made it a point to put up a record in *Nandināgari* characters, and one or other of these languages, generally Kanarese, or Telugu, probably intended for the edification of visitors to the temple from all parts of the country, north and south. On the same occasion he took with him, as he usually did, his two queens, Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi. Tirumalādēvi was the crowned queen and Chinnādēvi was probably his special favourite. Her name occurs before that of Tirumalādēvi generally. It is probably this circumstance that led to the story retailed by the Portuguese

chronicler, and believed in popularly, that she was a very pretty dancing-girl with whom he fell in love as a young man and took her into the harem when he became king. It does not appear to be true altogether. She seems to have been as much of a married wife as the other, and this story perhaps took its origin from one of the popular Telugu literary works bearing upon Krishṇadēvarāya's history, *Krishṇarājavijayamu*, which describes the two as *paṭṭapu bhārya* (the wife to be queen, Tirumalādēvi) and *bhogapu bhārya* (the wife for love, Chinnādēvi). Even in the matter of presentation to the God, Chinnādēvi's records occur first and Tirumalādēvi's records follow. Perhaps it was not regarded as making any difference. Each of these royal ladies presented a golden cup for presenting milk to the God after the late evening service was over. They were of the same weight and value and otherwise exactly similar, and this presentation by the queens is recorded in as many as twenty inscriptions of the same character as those of the King. The period of time at which this visit was made seems to coincide with that in which he had brought the administration of the empire into some kind of order and put it on a footing to enable his going out on his expeditions. We shall see that Krishṇa's visits to Tirupati seem intended more or less as thanksgiving



EMPEROR KRISHNADEVARAYA WITH QUEEN CHINNADEVI TO HIS RIGHT AND QUEEN TIRUMALADEVI TO HIS LEFT (To face pag 110)

visits whenever he actually achieved something very satisfactory.

THE KING'S SUBSEQUENT VISITS. The second visit took place on 2nd May 1513. This time he seems to have gone alone, and was content to make a present of three small crowns for the God and His two consorts Śrīdēvi and Bhūdēvi for the smaller metallic images intended for being carried about on festive occasions. His third visit took place on a date corresponding to 13th June 1515. This time he granted, for the daily food-service that he instituted in his name, and the new annual festival in the Tamil month *Tai* (January—February) every year in honour of his parents, Narasā Nāyaka and Nāgama, five villages, the grants having effect from the month *Śrāvaṇa* (August—September) of the year. He is also said to have, on the same day, made a gift at Kāḷahasti; probably he made the grant from Tirupati alone. A long inscription recording this visit is inscribed in the *Pāḍi Kāval Gōpuram* in the third *prākāra* of the Tirumalai temple. It is a long record containing the usual *praśasti* which we find in the coronation inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya and later, and those of his successors. Krishṇa made the next visit, the fourth visit, on a day corresponding to

6th July 1514. Here for the first time occurs the historical details of his campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. The inscriptional records of this visit state clearly that he attacked the Gajapati at Udayagiri, and, successfully turning his officers and army out from there, took the number of fortresses northwards of this, till at last the enemy was driven to find shelter in the fortification of Koṇḍavīḍu. Having done that successfully, the king was returning to his capital, and, on the way, paid a visit to the temple at Tirupati. On this occasion he bathed the God in gold (*Kanakābhiṣēkam*) with 30,000 *varāhas*. He also instituted certain daily offerings to be made, and presented for the expenses of this, the village of Tāḷapāka in Pottappi *Śīmē*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be given in part to Rangā Dīkshitar, and Śiva Dīkshitar, and the rest of it was to be made over to the superintendent of works in the temple to be utilised for the purpose of feeding the Brahmans in the *Chaṭras*, or feeding houses, in Tirupati. This time the queens accompanied him. The first Chinnādēvi presented an ornamental pendant and a necklace, and made a gift of a village called Guḍiyūr in the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam for the daily offerings to God in her name. The donor's portion of the food-service was to be made over to the superintendent of works on

the same terms as before. Tirumalādēvi, for her part, presented also a similar pendant to the God and presented the village of Pirāṭṭikuḷattūr as it is called in the Sholinghur division. There is the intersting fact noted that the royal priest Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshitar of Krishṇadēvarāya also accompanied him and made a present of 10,000 *chakrams* for certain purposes, dated four days later. He was the son of Rangā Dīkshitar mentioned above. Another set of four records in Tirupati introduces us to the emperor during his halt at Vijayanagar. During his stay there, he made a present of a *prabhāvaḷi*, arched corona, to the God set with the nine gems. All these records in the different languages are dated 25th October 1515. These inscriptions recount his achievements against the Gajapati and the two campaigns that he had undertaken against him till now. The first incident is the occupation of Udayagiri, where he captured one of the noblemen-officers of the Gajapati in the person of Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya. Then he marched victoriously onwards taking the various forts between Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu. Then he made a separate campaign against Koṇḍavīḍu, which was besieged and taken by escalading the walls by putting up a stone-roofed platform covered over for protection, and took the fortress. There he took prisoner a number of noblemen

and other officers, among them, the Gajapati prince Vīrabhadra. Then he went along with his queens to Dharaṇikōṭa, otherwise called Amarāvati, where, on the banks of the Krishṇā river, he performed the *Tulāpuruṣa*, weighing himself against gold, and distributing the gold among those eligible for the receipt of such charity, and performed also other charitable gifts through his queens Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi, returning to Vijayanagar at the end of these ceremonial services. This brings one part of the campaign against the Gajapatis to a close, and Krishṇa became possessed of the fortresses occupied by the Gajapati kings up to the banks of the Krishṇā. Among his early achievements in the course of these campaigns was the taking of the image of Bālakrishṇa in Udayagiri when the fortress fell to him. He carried the image over carefully to Vijayanagar, constructed a temple for it at Krishṇāpuram village, and enshrined it there and granted a number of villages for the conduct of the necessary worship and the festivals in this temple. Apparently Krishṇadēvarāya considered this quite a definite achievement of his in evidence whereof he assumed the new *birudas* of *Pūrva-dakṣiṇa Paśchima-Samudra-Adhīśvara*, *Yavanarāya-Stāpanāchārya*, *Gajapati Vibhāḍa*, which begin to appear from this time onwards.

The first of these titles, which has since continued in the family, and, we believe, repeated even now among the titles of the Mahārājas of Mysore in their durbars, means that these Vijayanagar rulers were lords of the western, eastern and southern oceans. The second would involve a claim that Krishṇadēvarāya had established the *Yavana* kingdom, which would mean the Muhammadan kingdom in this context, and apparently refers to his achievements on the Bahmani frontier against Bijapur, and what follows next the breaking of the power of the Gajapati nobles, the destruction of the Gajapati's hold upon the fortresses and dependent districts south of the Krishṇā legitimately belonging to the empire of Vijayanagar. These titles have a historical significance, and were added to those usually found in documents previous to his time.

KRISHNA'S LAST THREE VISITS. The next visit of Krishṇa was the fifth and took place on 2nd January 1517. This visit took place at the end of the Kalinga campaign against the Gajapati king. It begins with recounting the previous events up to the *Tulāpuruṣa* at Amarēśvara referred to in connection with the previous visit. It begins thereafter with Krishṇa's starting on his expedition towards Kalinga, proceeding first of all to Bezwada, taking possession of

the strong fortress there in the Telugu Rājya either in possession of the Kalinga rulers, or well affected towards them, and reached Simhādri Poṭṭunūṛu, which he made his headquarters. Following the advice of his minister, he threatened the Gajapati with a destructive campaign up to the gates of Cuttack, at the same time successfully creating suspicions in regard to the loyalty of the Kalinga officers in the mind of the monarch, and succeeded in this manner (probably without much of a direct battle or siege) to bring Pratāparudra to terms. In the actual circumstances of his position, Pratāparudra was called to accept the terms of the treaty which were certainly not hard by any means, and the treaty was sealed by the marriage of the princess of Orissa with Krishṇa, the Gajapati ruler making over all the territory taken from him, south of the Krishṇā, as her dowry. That was all that Krishṇa wanted, and, having succeeded in his ambition he entered into a permanent treaty, and planted a pillar of victory at Simhādri Poṭṭunūṛu in token of his victorious campaign, performed one of the series of his *Mahādānas* there and set forward on his return march to Rājahmundry. Here, he again made the *Mahādāna* gifts with his queens, Chinnādēvi and Tirumalādēvi and returned to Vijayanagar. It was after this that he paid a visit to

Tirumalai, and presented this time a costly necklace and pendant along with 30,000 gold *varāhas* for guilding the *vimāna* over the sanctum called *Ānanda Nilaya.* He also made over to the temple treasury the tolls collected within the limits of what is called in the record, Goḍagarnāḍu, apparently Kuḍavūrnāḍu in which Tirupati was situated, amounting to one thousand *varāhas.* This is set apart for the expenses of the weekly ablution to the God. He also made another donation of the miscellaneous taxes relating to the same district to the amount of 500 *varāhas* for a morning service that he instituted, probably in his name. This record of his doings in Tirupati, and the recital of his exploits before, make it clear that the Kalinga war was over by the date 2nd January 1517. It must have been as a matter of fact some time since, and it gives us the details of the campaign against Kalinga which is in substantial agreement with the other sources. The granting of 30,000 *varāhas* for guilding the *vimāna* is an indication of his satisfaction at the glorious termination of his campaign, and this guilding of the tower over the sanctum was completed before 8th September 1518 in the following year. This was for the fourth time, according to available sources of information, that the *vimāna* was guilded. The *vimāna,* or the tower over the sanctum, is known

as *Ānanda Nilayam* and was regarded as particularly holy. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the middle of the fourteenth century had the *vimāna* plated with gold. He did similar service at Śrīrangam and in Chidambaram. The next man of distinction who did a similar service at Tirupati was the Vijayanagar officer Sāḷuva Mangidēva, who played an important part in the campaigns of Kumāra Kampaṇa, early in the history of Vijayanagar, and the next service was during the rule of Sāḷuva Narasa by Amātyaśēkhara Mallaṇa. Since Krishṇadēvarāya's benefaction towards this end, we have records of the guilding of the *vimāna* on two occasions, one by Kōṭikanyakādānam Tāṭāchāryār of Kānchi during the rule of the Emperor Venkaṭa I, and the next one quite recently in 1909, by one Rāma Lakshmaṇdās Bhāvāji, a fellow disciple of the present Śrī Mahant.

The next visit of Krishṇarāya took place on the 16th October 1518, which is about five weeks after the previous visit, and the happy occasion that brought him to Tirupati seems to have been the birth of a long longed for son to his crowned queen Tirumalādēvi. From the fact that there is nothing connected with this happy event in the records of his previous visit, it seems to be that the child was born after the

date of these records, and that he should have taken his wife and child again on a visit so early, after the event perhaps is an indication of the strength of his faith in Śrī Venkaṭēśa, and his anxiety for the welfare of the child. Perhaps it was not a personal visit made by the monarch to Tirupati, as the document recording this is in Kamalāpuram near Hampi. The grant was probably made from there. It is the seventh, and perhaps the last visit, which took place on 17th February 1521. On this occasion he made a present of a *pītāmbaraṃ*, set with the nine gems, a cap set with pearls, gems, emeralds, and saphires, two fly-whisks set with the nine gems, *padakkam* or pendant together with 10,000 *varāhas* in cash. The queen Tirumalādēvi who accompanied him apparently made the present of a pendant set with nine gems. This finds record in the inscriptions at Tirupati as usual in the three or four languages, and that seems to be the last time that he visited Tirupati.

CHAPTER IV.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF KRISHNADEVA-RAYA.

We have so far taken into consideration the records of the benefactions of Krishṇadēvarāya and his queens at Tirupati which by themselves take up 54 inscriptions, 28 of the king and 26 of the two queens. We shall now proceed to consider the other inscriptions in the temple for the light that they throw upon the history of the shrine and its association with the empire. The first inscription which refers to the name of Krishṇadēvarāya is record No. 18 of Ś. 1433 (7th April 1511) by the already well-known officer Appā Piḷḷai for the merit of Krishṇadēvarāya. Of course, this Appā Piḷḷai is described as coming from Uttaramērūr, and his parentage and other details are given as in the other records. This inscription records the grant of a village Vīra Kampanallūr in Āraṇi *Śīrmai* belonging to Murugamangalappaṟṟu in the Paḍaivīdu Rājya. The revenues from this village were to be made use of for a certain number of services on a specified number of days during the year. Among them happen to be his birthday, and that of his mother.

It also refers incidentally to a *maṇṭapa* constructed by him at the *Champaka* gate in the Tirumalai temple. Appā Piḷḷai certainly was an officer of state. The following record, No. 19 of the same Śaka year equivalent to 25th December 1511, is by Lakshmī Ammangār, the wife of Sāḷuva Timma Aiyangar, *Pradhāni* (minister) of the empire, and son of Rācharasar of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* belonging to the Yajus Śākha. She paid 1,200 *paṇam* to be applied for improvements of irrigation facilities in the temple villages, the income from these being applied for the services instituted in her name. One interesting detail in this record is that a part of the donor's share of the food, after the service, was to be given to her son-in-law Appayya, who is described as the son of Nāridiṇḍla Timma Rāja. The next important document, No. 21 of Śaka 1433 (13th January 1512), is by the same *Pradhāni* Sāḷuva Timmarasa, son of Rāchirāja of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. He instituted a certain number of services to the temple for which he made the gift of the village of Parandalūr in Pottappināḍu for a certain number, a comparatively large number, of services to the temple through the year both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine. Other interesting details noteworthy in the document are: a reference to the

Appā Piḷḷai *maṇṭapa*, where the God is to be taken on a particular festival when one of his services was to be rendered. In connection with another festival, his *maṇṭapa* is under reference, which would mean that he had a pavilion in his own name. Further down the document there is a reference to his flower-garden which was looked after by a Śāttāda Vaishṇava, Śingaiyan, for whom a part of the donor's share of the food was to be given. The next document is in three Sanskrit verses in the Gōvindarāja shrine, not on the hill, and states that Timmarasa presented a magnificent silk cloth (*Pītāmbara*) to God Śrīnivāsa. One interesting detail of this document is that Timmarasa is spoken of here as *Mantrīndra* (Chief Minister) which we shall have to take as synonymous with the term *pradhāni* in other documents. No. 23 is a document from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1434 (27th June 1512). It refers to a cash deposit of a thousand *paṇam* by Mannār Piḷḷai, we have already come across with as the brother of Appā Piḷḷai, for certain services to Tirumangai Āḷvār and Gōvindarāja. Among the services happens to be one on his birthday. The money paid has to be applied, as in the other cases, for the improvement of temple lands. No. 25 of Ś. 1434 (14th July 1512) is a donation by Rāma

Nāyaka, son of Periya Ōbala Nāyakar. He is described as a *Mahānāyangār Āchārya.* He made over, as a *dēvadāna*, a village called Śangoḍippalli in the Chittavolu *Śīrma* of Puluhūrnāḍu from the revenues of which a certain number of services was to be rendered, among them one on his birthday. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be used by the officer of works in the temple for feeding those in his own charity-house (Chatram) in Tirupati. Document No. 27 of Ś. 1434 is by an officer Tirumala Nāyaka. This refers to the grant of a village as a *sarvamānya* by the officer for a certain number of services through the year. There is reference in the document, which is damaged, to a Tirumalai Nāyakan *maṇṭapam*, probably a structure built by him. This *maṇṭapam* is under reference in respect of the next following document. The next one No. 29 is of date Ś. 1434 (20th December 1512). This is a donation by Mannār Piḷḷai already referred to several times. This refers to a deposit of 1,200 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services instituted. There is nothing else of interest in the document. The next one is also by the same person and provides for a few additional services from the income of a deposit of 360 *paṇam.* No. 69 is a record of a donation by Giṇḍi Basavarāyalu, a servant of

Krishṇadēvarāya. The record was indited under the king's orders. No. 88 of Ś. 1435 (8th January 1514) is by the commander-in-chief Rāma Nāyaka already referred to. He made over 200 cows for the purposes of a milk service to the God overnight and for the supply of ghee, etc. One interesting particular in this is that a part of the donor's share of the food-service was to go to the feeding of those resident in the *Rāmanujakūta* of Rāma Nāyaka, which means Rāma Nāyaka had already a charity house of his own. No. 89 of Ś. 1436 (10th July 1514) is by Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshitar, son of Rangā Dīkshitar, *Purōhit* of Krishṇadēvarāya. He belonged to the Jāmadagnīya Vatsa *gōtra*, and of the Āśvalāyana *sūtra*, and he is said also to have celebrated the *Sarvakratu*, *Vājapēya* and *Sarvatōmukha* sacrifices. He was apparently the hereditary *Purōhit* as he succeeded his father who was also Krishṇa's *Purohit*.

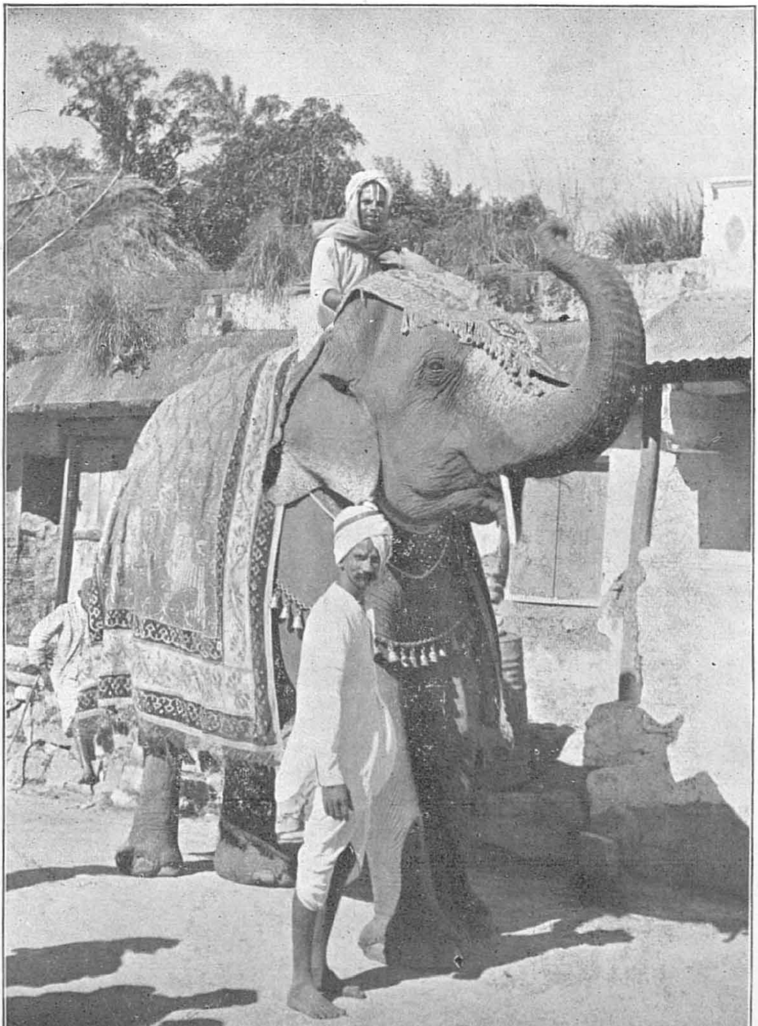
GRANTS ETC. BY PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS IN KRISHNA'S REIGN. No. 90 of Ś. 1436 (26th July 1514) is a private grant of a village Tivalaippūṇḍi in Koṇḍavāli *Śīrmai* for three food-services to the God on the hill by a certain Nārāyaṇa, son of Tatvavāḍi Timmaṇayyan, a resident of Kampasamudram village. It is clearly stated in this case that the village should be accepted as a

mānya village by the temple, and the income utilised for the purposes of the donation. The next document of importance is No. 97 of Ś. 1436 (17th August 1514). This is a grant of 240 *paṇam* by a bachelor Tiruvēngaḍayyan, Manager of the *Tiruvāḻi Parappinān Tirunandavanam* on the hill. He is described as a disciple of Vēdāntāchārya, otherwise Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṇṇa's son, Appāvaiyangār. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* in the flower garden, and down the record there is a further reference to a *maṭham* by the name *Tiruvāḻi Parappinān*, to which a part of the donor's share of the food should be made over. No. 99 of Ś. 1436 (29th December 1514) is the gift of a village Erulapūṇḍi by Śrī Rangarāja, son of Ranjakam Tirumalaināthar. The village of Erulapūṇḍi is described as near Verumāpuram in Mādanallūr *Śīrmai*. No. 100 is a mere record of this gift. No. 102 of Ś. 1436 (4th May 1514) is a donation by a Śāttāda Śrī Vaishṇava by name Bhaṭṭarpirān Ayyan, a disciple of Paravastu Aṇṇā. He is described as an *Ēkāki*, that is a bachelor, and made a deposit of 150 *paṇam* in the treasury of the Nammāḻvār temple. This amount was to be applied to the lands belonging to Nammāḻvār in the village of Iḷāmaṇḍyam, showing a separate treasury and organisation for the shrine of this Āḻvār. The next one No. 103 of date Ś. 1440

(8th July 1518) refers to a Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagaḷ residing in Arikanḍapuram, otherwise Nāgalāpuram in Niṅṛai-nāḍu of Kuṅṛavardhanakkōṭṭam. The donor is said to have come of the Kārāḷar *vaṁśa*, and is described as the son of a Āvirukaḷappāḷar Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān. It refers to a deposit of 1,200 *paṇam* for a daily food-service to Gōvindapperumāḷ, and comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 105 of Ś. 1437 (12th September 1515). This is a grant by an officer of the king's personal staff, who is described as Karaṇikka Basavarasa, son of Sōmarasa of Tiruppēṛṛūr. The grant was made for the merit of Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. It refers incidentally to a flower garden on the road to Chandragiri to the east of the new tank Rāmānuja (Rāmānujaputtēri). He instituted the food-service on the particular day referred to. The expenses of this were to be met from the income arising from his having dug out a new canal for irrigation in the temple village of Maṇiyakkōnpaṭṭu. No. 109 of Ś. 1438 (2nd June 1516) is again a donation for the merit of Krishṇarāya Mahārāya, by one Ūḍiyam (Ūḷiyam) Ellappa Nāyaka. He instituted eight food-services to meet the expenses of which he made a grant of three villages Kaṭṭalaippaṭṭu, Nelvāy and Kolliḍumbai, from out of the income

from these the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's portion of the food should be applied for feeding those in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*. No. 110 comes from Lower Tirupati and is of date Ś. 1438 (20th August 1516). This is a benefaction by Śrīmān Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, a disciple of Śrī Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. He made provision for five food-services during the *Adhyayana* festival to the God on the hill, and for thirteen other services on the monthly *nakshatras* of his *Guru* Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, namely the *Nakshatra Kēṭṭai*. There is incidentally a reference to the God for whom a service was to be rendered in front of his own *Maṭha*, and this arrangement was to continue through all the successions of the *śishyas* of the Mutt. No. 113 also refers to Nārāyaṇa Jīyar of Ś. 1438 (7th November 1516). It refers to a deposit of 3,800 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources as usual, and the income applied to meet the expenses of the daily service of Gōvindapperumāḷ and for certain services during the *Adhyayana Utsava* in the hill shrine. This again was to continue through all the succession of his *śishyas*. No. 11 also comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and is a grant of Ś. 1438 (6th October 1516) by the Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagaḷ already referred to. This refers to a deposit of 1,450 *paṇam* to be applied similarly for the

purposes of these services. We pass on to No. 116 which comes from Tirumalai of Ś. 1439 (12th October 1517). This is a grant of a village by Traiyambaka Dēva, son of Tipparasar, a resident of Śivan-Samudram. He is described as belonging to Vasishṭa *gōtra* and Āśvalāyana *sūtra*. He provided for thirty food-services on the days of the *Adhyayana* festival in the month of *Mārgaḻi* (December-January). He made a grant of the village Murandai in the Tirumaṇi *Śīrmai*, the income from which was to be made use of for the purposes of the services. No. 118 of Ś. 1439 (27th November 1517) is a record of a donation by one Sittāmu Śeṭṭi, son of Dharmāpuram Vergalu Śeṭṭi, a resident of Nārasingapuram in Tirupati. It makes provision for a number of services, among them there is mention of Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa *Maṭham*, and the *maṇṭapa* in the garden of Kumāra Rāmānuja Ayyan, and a *maṇṭapa* built by himself just outside the bund of the tank called Toṇḍamānāṛ. He paid, for a number of these services, 14,590 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages. In the distribution of food there is provision made for a certain amount being made over to the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa *Maṭham*. No. 119 of Ś. 1439 (27th November 1517) is a donation by Koṇḍu Śeṭṭi, son of Thammu Śeṭṭi,



ANNOUNCING FESTIVAL

(To face page 128)

a resident of Nārasingarāyapuram. It makes provision for a number of food-services, and the interesting points noteworthy are that he received from Krishṇarāya Mahārāya the grant of a village called Chintayappalli belonging to the Velumapāḷaiyam division for his own maintenance. Half of this village he made over for some services in connection with the Kāḷahastīśvara temple. He made the other half over for the purpose of these services in Tirupati. No. 124 of Ś. 1440 (4th October 1518) is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Ekkādi Timmamma, daughter of Nallagangamma, in the name of King Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. This has reference to the payment of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual to meet the expenses of the services. Then we pass on to No. 130 of Ś. 1441 (17th April 1519). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, son of Timmarasa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and Yajus Śākha. He instituted a number of services for meeting the expenses of which he made a grant of a village Muḷumbūṇḍi in the Nellūr *Śīrmai* of Udayagiri Rājya. The donor's share of the food was to be made over to the charity house (*chatra*), of his own that he maintained in Tirumalai. Record No. 132 of Ś. 1441 (13th April 1519 is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain Vēdāntāchārya, other-

wise Doḍḍaiyangār Appai described as the son of Kaṇḍāḍai Veṇṛu Malaittaperumāḷ Nāyanār of the Vādhūla *gōtra*, and Āpastamba *sūtra*. He instituted a number of services for which he paid into the temple treasury 2,520 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple lands, from the income of which the expenses were to be met. This donor's father seems to be the individual described by a title here, commonly known as Doḍḍaiyāchārya or Mahāchārya, residing in Ghaṭikāchalam or Sholinghur. His ordinary name was Śrīnivāsachārya. He was a well-known scholar and an admirer of Vēdānta Dēśika, on some of whose works he commented. He also wrote the *Vaibhavaprakāśika*, a biography of Vēdānta Dēśika. The next one No. 133 coming from the Tirumalai temple is an imperfect inscription and contains but one *ślōka* of what is perhaps a longer record. The interesting point about it is that it refers to a festival during which provision is made for a food-service to Śrī Varāha. The next one is No. 135 of Ś. 1441 (16th April 1519). It is a donation by Aḍapam Baiyappa Nāyaka, son of Timmappa Nāyaka. He was an officer in personal attendance upon the sovereign carrying the betel-box for him. The document is very imperfect, and is an arrangement for a food-service. The next one, No. 136 of

Ś. 1441 (10th September 1519) is a donation by one Tiruvēngaḍapperumāḷ Mudaliar, son of Tirunagari Avidikaḷappāla Tiruvēngada Uḍaiyān, a member of the management of the temple at Nāgalāpuram, otherwise called Harivāsapuram. This is a gift of 11,000 *paṇam* into the treasury of the temple to be applied as usual for the improvement of temple lands, from the income of which the services have to be conducted. He is said to have had a big *maṇṭapa* in front of his own house where a certain service had to be rendered on the occasion of certain festivals to Gōvindapperumāḷ. This is a record coming from Lower Tirupati. The next following are records of donations of the ordinary kind. We then come to No. 141 of Ś. 1442 (24th November 1520). This provides for a certain number of services for which 256 *paṇam* were deposited to be applied as usual, and the same kind of distribution of food is also provided for. The next one is No. 142 of Ś. 1442 (28th Nov. 1520). This is a document which relates to Mādhava Aiyangār, a disciple of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangār, disciple of Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar. He is described here as superintending the *Rāmānujakūṭas* in Tirupati, and the jewel treasury of the God. This makes provision for a number of services during different festivals in the course of the year. There are interesting

references in these services to one instituted by Krishṇarāya Mahārāya. Then there is a reference to a Bhaṭṭar *maṇṭapam*, a Narasarāya Nāyakar *maṇṭapam* and one Aiyan *maṇṭapam* whatever this meant. Lower down the document, it is stated that provision for certain services have to be made from a *sarvamānya* village which Narasimharāya Mahārāya made over to Rāmānuja Aiyangār for services to Alarmēlmangai Nācchiyār, the goddess of the shrine. The 1,600 *kuḻis* of this *sarvamānya* with other smaller gifts together measured 1,630 *kuḻis* as measured by the rod of 42 feet. This land was formed into a village called Tirumalādēvipuram, and made over to the temple. These *sarvamānya* villages are described as *Paṇḍāravāḍai* villages in the document. The next record of importance is No. 147 of Ś. 1443 (1st November 1521). This is an interesting document referring to two officers of the Gajapati king of Orissa. The first is one Subuddhi Rāmadās, son of Śankaradas of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and is described as the *stānapati* of the Gajapati. The other is one Ambikā Muduvila, son of Bhīma Aiyar of the Kaśyapa *gōtra*. These were respectively recipients of two villages in gift from Krishṇarāya Mahārāya. The village granted to the first was Taṇḍalam in the Tatvāchēri *Śir-*

mai, and the village given to the other was Tādapāḷem. They made over these two villages to the God for certain services to be rendered which are described. The donor's share of the food was to be made over to the person who maintained the flower garden going by their name in Tirupati. The next one is No. 152 of Ś. 1443 (9th March 1522). This is a donation by Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshita in honour of his father Ranganātha Dīkshita of the Jāmadagnēya Vatsa *gōtra* and Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and a Rig Vēdin, who had celebrated the *Sarvakratu*, *Vājapēya*, *Sarvatōmukha* sacrifices. The father and son were hereditary *purōhits* of Krishṇadēvarāya. The gift here was a deposit of 1,850 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services in the name of the father Ranganātha Dīkshita on his birthday asterisms and on the monthly *Sankramaṇas* (days of the Sun's entry into each house of the zodiac) and newmoon days. The next one is No. 154 in the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1445 (27th August 1522) This is an interesting document relating to Gōvindarāja, son of Rācha Rāja of the Kaunḍinya *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Yajus Śākha. The person referred to is Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, brother of Sāḷuva Timmarasa, and a trusted officer in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya. This is a provision that he

made for a large number of services to Gōvindarāja throughout the year for the spiritual merit of Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. He made a free gift of the village of Mēlpāḍi in the Gaṇḍikōṭṭa *Śīrmai* from the income whereof the expenses of the services were to be met. The next one is No. 156 of Ś. 1445 (21st October 1523). This is a document executed, under the orders of the *stānattār* of Tirumalai, by the managers of the temple of Nammāḻvār in Tirupati with a Śāttāda bachelor, Bhaṭṭarpirān Aiyan, a disciple of Paravastu Aṇṇa. This is a deposit of 300 *paṇam* into the treasury of Nammāḻvār to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the lands belonging to Nammāḻvār in the village Iḷāmaṇḍyam. There is the usual arrangement prescribing distribution of the food. In the course of it we come upon a Jīyar who was in charge of the Nammāḻvār temple. This document is in the Nammāḻvār temple at *Kapila Tīrtham.*

Document No. 157 is of importance as also the next following two as referring to Śrī Vyāsatīrtha. It is of date Ś. 1445 (12th January 1524). It is an agreement between the *stānattār* and Śrī Vyāsatīrtha with the usual titles of this particular *Maṭh.* This refers to a gift of a certain number of house-sites which were confis-

cated to the temple treasury in the days of Narasimharāya Mahārāya. These house-sites were made over to Śrī Vyāsarāya who built the Vyāsarāya *maṭha* on the sites and the inscription is found on the walls of the *maṭha.* The interesting point in the inscription is the reference to a family of Bhaṭṭas who stole some of the jewels of the God, for which they had to suffer drastic punishment ordered by Sāḷuva Narasimha, which seems to have involved the death of these servants and the confiscation of their property. Document No. 158 is of the same date, but has reference to the *Maṭh* on the hill. It refers to the same subject, the gift of a certain number of vacant house-sites, this time at Tirumalai, but refers of course to the same incident of the stealing of the jewels by the temple priests. The house-sites were made over to Vyāsarāyasvāmi on receipt of written orders from Krishṇadēvarāya. The next record, No. 159 is of the same date and refers to the same matter. It confirms what had been stated in the previous records and states distinctly that two house-sites were given both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati, and on both of which sites *maṭhs* were constructed. From the donor's share of the food-services which king Krishṇadēvarāya had instituted by the grant of a number of villages, seven in different places,

a part was to be made over to the *maṭhs* for the use of those resident therein. No. 161 comes from the Lower shrine, and is of Ś. 1446 (31st March 1524). This document comes from Lower Tirupati and refers to a *maṇṭapa* and a water-shed just in front of the front gate of the Gōvindapperumāḷ temple. It is the temple accountant for the time being who instituted this service by depositing 700 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, from the income whereof the expenses of the services were to be met. The next document of importance is No. 165 coming from the hill shrine of date Ś. 1446 (8th November 1524). This again refers to Vyāsatīrtha, and to a number of services both on the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja temple. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* in front of the *maṭha* on the hill. A deposit of 14,000 *paṇam* was made for this purpose, which was to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of temple villages. He made over also a village called Śilapandūr in the Pāḏaivīḏu *Śīrmai* from out of the income of which the expenses of the total number of services had to be met. The next one of importance is No. 167. This document comes from the ruined temple of Periya Āḻvār at the foot of the hill. It is of date Ś. 1448 (17th January 1527). This is an agreement between the smaller treasury of works (*Piḷḷai*

Tiruppaṇi Bhaṇḍāra), and one Chinnappa Reḍḍi, son of Tammu Reḍḍi, who is described as among the Veḷḷāḷas of Pullālaippaṭṭu village in Tuyyānāḍu. It is provision for a certain number of food-services for the spiritual merit of Krishṇadēvarāya Mahārāya. He made the grant therefor, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, of a certain piece of land which is defined. The donor's share of the food was to be received by this treasury of works, and to be applied for the maintenance of a flower garden maintained by them. No. 172 of Ś. 1449 (20th September 1527) is an agreement with a member of the Tirucchānūr *Sabhā* named Śrī Rāmayyan, son of Velaikaḍaṇḍa Dāsar Aṇṇāvaiyangār Anantayyan. There is a reference to his having constructed a *maṇṭapa* on the south bank of the Kōnēri and to the north of the temple gate. He deposited 300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for the purpose of a certain number of services. The next one is No. 173 of Ś. 1449 (19th July 1527). It is an agreement with Rāmānuja Jīyar the keeper of the garden *Pankayacchelvi* for certain festivals including those in which the God is taken to the pavilion in the garden. He and another Yatirājayyan deposited between them 850 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, from the income whereof the expenses were to be met. Among those to whom the donor's share of the food-ser-

vice should be given occurs the name of the head of the *maṭha* in the *Pankayacchelvi* flower garden. Whether this is a different person, or the same as Rāmānuja Jīyar is not clear. No. 175 comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and is of Ś. 1450 (2nd April 1528). It is an agreement with Śrī Vyāsatīrtha. This makes provision for a large number of services for which the Svāmi made a grant of the village Ōṭṭampaṭṭu. The donor's share of the produce was to be made over to him. The next one is No. 177 of Ś. 1450 (21st September 1528). This is a donation by Karaṇika Basavayya, son of Chaṇḍikai Ōbaladēva of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Āśvalāyana *sūtra* and of the Ṛig Vēda. He instituted a certain number of services for which he made a deposit of 6,440 *paṇam* to be applied for the improvement of the irrigation resources of the temple lands. There is nothing else worth attention in this. No. 178 is of particular importance and is of Ś. 1450 also (19th Nov. 1528). This is an agreement of the department of works in the temple with the disciples of Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, obviously Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. They instituted a certain number of services by way of doing honour to their Āchārya (religious preceptor). They deposited 260 *paṇam* for the purpose of a certain number of services to be applied as usual and the expenses met from the

income. The portion of the food after service was to be divided between the department of works and a certain number of Vaishṇavas, who performed the recital of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, etc.

The remaining inscriptions of which, a few of them are intact contain nothing of importance except giving a date corresponding to 2nd January 1530, the latest so far available. A number of others are too far gone to make anything out of them. One of them No. 194 equates the Gōvinda *Pushkaraṇi* in Tirupati with Krishṇarāya Kōnēri. Probably the tank was dug in the name of Krishṇadēvarāya, and popularly known afterwards as Govinda *Pushkaraṇi* as being attached to the temple of Gōvindarāja.

CHAPTER V.

THE VAISHNAVA CHARACTER OF TIRUPATI UNDER VIJAYANAGAR.

THE SAIVA CONTENTION REGARDING THE CHARACTER OF THE SHRINE. We have seen that with the advent of the Sāḷuvas to power the holy shrine of Tirupati emerges into the broad daylight of history as a Vaishṇava *holy of holies* in this period. The three most holy places of the Vaishṇavas are Kōil, Tirumalai, Perumāḷ Kōil meaning respectively Śrīrangam, Tirupati, and Conjivaram. It is a sort of a popular saying that these are the three holiest places of the Vaishṇavas. The reason for this is perhaps that the activities of the first *Āchāryas* chiefly Nādamuni, Āḷavandār and Rāmānuja, who were all people belonging to this region, were the most seen in this part of the country, though we cannot say they were quite confined to this. In this trinity of holy places, it will be seen that Tirumālirumśōlai, otherwise Aḻagaramalai, near Madura, drops out from the Vaishṇava trinity of classical Tamil. The three Vaishṇava places of the greatest importance in those early days were Śrīrangam, Tirupati and Tirumālirumśōlai as testified to in the Tamil classics like the *Pari-*

pāḍal and the *Śilappadhikāram*. Conjivaram does certainly come into importance and to a rank of its own early enough, and pronouncedly in the days of the later Pallavas of Kānchi. But it actually does supersede Tirumāliruṁśōlai, and takes the third place among the *holy of holies* only in this age. This popular notion merely reflects the change in the historical position of these places due, as was stated already, to the activities of the Vaishṇava Āchāryas who lived and worked in this particular region. To this was added the additional influence of the patronage of the local rulers, the Yādavarāyas, to begin with, and the Sāḷuvas afterwards. We have already demonstrated to the satisfaction of the most critical mind that Tirupati has been held continuously, at least by the Vaishṇavas, as a Vaishṇava holy place as is evidenced by the works of the Āḻvārs collected together in the *Nālāyira Prabandha*. We have also adduced the secular evidence of the *Śilappadhikāram*, and a few other inscriptional and literary sources in evidence towards this conclusion. There followed a period of obscurity perhaps due to want of official patronage under the Chōḻas during certain periods. It is during one of these periods that worship at Tirupati got into neglect and gave the opportunity for the contention that led to the Śaiva claim that the shrine was one of a

Śaiva character. This gave the occasion for the advent of Rāmānuja into the scene. He was able to argue the Śaivas out of their position satisfactorily, and gained thereby the goodwill of the local ruler, the Yādavarāja. The local ruler's countenance and patronage enabled him to place the organisation of worship in the temple on a footing of permanence. That he did so, and that his organisation continued, is in evidence in the records of the subsequent period, so that there is no mistaking the fact that even the present organisation of worship in the temple in all its details is what Rāmānuja had organised in his time. It is the foolish effort of the later Vaishṇava hagiologists that is responsible for the damaging character that is given to the reforms of Rāmānuja for which one finds hardly any authority either in contemporary literature or even the subsequent inscriptional records. This exaggerated statement took hold of the imagination of the people so much that one finds it difficult to remove it by argument or evidence. The age of the early Chōḻas was one of Śaiva fervour, and, without the rulers being directly or necessarily responsible, it is possible for Śaiva sectaries to set up a claim, such as they are said to have set up, in respect of Tirupati, and there is nothing improbable whatsoever in a local ruler making a serious

effort to get the matter settled for the peace of the locality and the convenience of his own administration. That seems to have been actually the course of events which gave rise to the story which is at the bottom of this controversy regarding the character of the temple. Apart from the fact that the Vaishṇavas consistently regarded the temple as a Vishṇu shrine, the Śaiva *Nāyanārs* who travelled about and celebrated even the most obscure of the Śaiva shrines of this land, have not even obscurely hinted anywhere that Tirupati was such. This ought to be conclusive proof, and, if further evidence were required, some of the inscriptions of the great Chōḷa rulers themselves give no countenance to this Śaiva contention. Rāmānuja's organisation following this put it altogether beyond doubt, and when, in the following period, the Sāḷuvas emerge into view we find the place established as a holy shrine of Vishṇu beyond question and comes in for treatment as such.

THE CHARACTER OF SALUVA PATRONAGE TO TIRUPATI: The Sāḷuvas get to be associated with the place particularly, as they were the legitimate successors of the Yādavarāyas as rulers of the locality, their headquarters being Chandragiri, whatever their place of origin may

have been. They were Vaishṇavas by persuasion, and were therefore devoted particularly to the shrine at Tirupati. As the Sāḷuvas rose in power, their patronage to the temple also increased. Naturally this put the temple in possession of resources systematically fostered not only by the rulers and their officials, but even by the people of the locality almost deliberately, and on a recognised plan, as we have already noticed. Every donation that was made to the temple was made with a view to improving the permanent resources of the temple in such a way as to provide ultimately for a regular annual income, so that however small the donation may be when actually made, it had the ultimate result of becoming a permanent grant to the temple and added to its permanent resources. Thus in the course of the history of the Sāḷuvas as officers of Vijayanagar and ultimately as even emperors, their encouragement and patronage contributed substantially to make the temple richer, and placed it on a footing of completely independent means for the future. The management was left entirely in the hands of the people of the locality, particularly the devotees of the temple, the Government and their officers stepping in to set matters right only when their intervention was called for either by appeal to their authority, or because of the

occurrence of some irregularity cognisable by the officials in the public interest. Beyond that the government did not interfere, and even though the rulers themselves were devotees they did not put themselves on any special footing in regard to the general management of the temple. At the end of the period of the Sāḷuvas we may say that the temple was provided with an autonomous organisation for conducting its own affairs completely by itself alone, and had been provided with the means for doing this efficiently without depending upon any external assistance. Donations from outside came in plenty, but this went only to add to the resources of the temple, not necessarily to supply any want. Such was the position in which Tirupati was when Krishṇadēvarāya assumed the responsibilities of the empire.

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF KRISHNA'S SERVICES TO TIRUPATI: We have already stated that Krishṇadēvarāya came to the throne of Vijayanagar under circumstances of peculiar gravity to the empire. The empire was in imminent danger of external attack while it still was labouring to recover from serious internal disturbances. The actual manner of his accession to the throne, whether true or not in its circumstantial detail, exhibits undoubtedly the gravity

of the position. The trusted minister of the empire Sāḷuva Timma was commissioned by his master Vīra Narasimha, Krishṇa's elder brother, to put out the eyes of Krishṇa, because he was a specially competent young man and popular, with a view to letting a young boy of a son of his own to succeed. Whatever Krishṇa's part in it, the minister at the critical moment judged it right that Kishṇa should be allowed to escape and succeed ultimately even to the detriment of his master's son to whom in loyalty he was bound to be true at that critical moment. His judgment proved correct, and the fact that ever since popular tradition connects the two as the *Rāyaru* and *Appāji*, the ruler and the old man, old counsellor, in the position of father, is an indication perhaps of the actual relation between the two, and the service that the old minister rendered to the ruler of the future. This peculiarly critical character of Krishṇa's accession to the throne perhaps is partially responsible for his devotion to God which took the form of a peculiar attachment and devotion to the shrine at Tirupati as a personal feature. We have already pointed out that he paid as many as seven visits to the temple, and, on analysis, these visits are found to be so timed that he went there to the hill as if in gratitude

for some distinct and difficult achievement that he made in the course of his difficult career. This gives his benefactions the character of thanksgiving service to the temple. His benefactions were many and magnificent, and all the time he shows himself to be a very fervent devotee of the temple, and seems in the holy presence to forget that he was ruler of a great empire. He probably was essentially a religious minded man as we are told seriously that he was accustomed to fasting on the days of the eleventh moon, increasing or decreasing, and during his stay in Bezawāḍa on his expedition into Kalinga he had a dream when the God at the temple of Śrīkākuḷam which he visited, appeared before him and suggested the composition of a work in Telugu, the subject of which was, wonder of wonders for a sovereign, the story of *Gōdā*, the foundling maiden who would marry no other than Śrī Ranganātha at Śrīrangam. This Telugu classic known as *Āmuktamālayadā* (Tam *Śūḍikkoḍuttāḷ*, she who gave the garland first worn by her) is the result of this dream as Krishṇa himself says, and is perhaps responsible for his attachment to Vishṇu and his particular devotion to the God at Tirumalai. It was not he alone; his queens generally accompanied him, and they did not fall behind him in the exhibition of their fervour of devotion.

His ministers and officers were equally enthusiastic in regard to the matter. His devotion made such an impression that not only his officers, but even ordinary people, among them some women, made their benefactions in order that the benefit of those donations might accrue to the ruler of the time. The example set by the Sāḷuvas and carried systematically through the whole of the period of Sāḷuva rule, of making donations in such a way as to increase the permanent resources of the temple, and such services as had to be rendered to it being met from out of the income without in the least destroying the capital, was followed in this period as well. Except where, as in the case of Krishṇadēvarāya and a few of the others, villages were granted in *sarvamānya*, the money donations were always applied in the same way as under the Sāḷuvas. Oftentimes the donations took the form of jewels and gifts of that sort. Sometimes useful public works were directly constructed by the benefactors themselves. During the whole of this period, the temple organisation worked satisfactorily and seems hardly to have called for the intervention of the ruler even. The town had grown in importance. The charity feeding houses, for the body of visitors to the temple, increased in number, and almost everybody worth the name seems to have

had his flower gardens in the locality with pavilions sometimes in the midst of these gardens. This service of supplying flowers for worship is valued highly among the schools of *Bhaktas* generally, and perhaps the Vaishṇavas the more so. But in the peculiar position of Tirupati on the hill, this seems to have been regarded as a particularly holy kind of service, and one way of rendering it is by providing for the laying out and the maintenance of flower gardens. The management of the temple affairs was left in the hands of the Vaishṇavas as was stated already, but the actual carrying on of the administration was generally entrusted to single men either *Sanyāsis* or other, adopting the general principle enunciated by Rāmānuja so as to put these managers who had to handle large sums of money, beyond temptation. Several of these gardens were under the management of these single men, either Vaishṇava Brahmans, oftentimes *Sanyāsis*, or under Non-Brahman Vaishṇavas called Śāttāda Vaishnavas; that is, Vaishṇavas, who, being Non-Brahmans, were not entitled to wear their cloths as Brahman Vaishṇavas do. This arrangement seems to have worked generally well. Of course there were family men who were in charge of several of the charity houses, and one Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangār, a much valued *Āchārya* of

Sāḷuva Narasimha, was entrusted with the management of the jewel treasury of the temple in addition to superintending the *Rāmānujakūṭāms* in the town generally. One case of misfeasance comes to our notice even in these inscriptions, and this has reference to a family of *Archakas* (temple-priests) who were guilty of having stolen some of the jewels of the God. Drastic punishments seem to have been administered to them by Sāḷuva Narasimha himself, their houses and lands becoming confiscated to the temple, and we hear of this case only when those house-sites had to be alienated and disposed of otherwise under Krishṇa. This gives us more or less an insight into the character of the supervision that was exercised, and the drastic character of the punishment that was imposed upon misfeasance of temple funds.

KRISHNA'S BENEFACTIONS AND THEIR RECORD IN INSCRIPTIONS: Krishṇadēvarāya's own inscriptions in the temple at Tirupati cover the period A. D. 1513 to A. D. 1521. There seems to be one record of A. D. 1524. His name, however, occurs in records of A. D. 1527, and there is one mutilated record even of A. D. 1530. His active benefactions therefore were confined to ten years beginning A. D. 1513, and the inscriptions themselves give us an insight into his activities, and

the stages in his conduct of the war against the Kalinga ruler, which seems to have been regarded more or less as the main act of the busy part of his reign. These inscriptions by themselves give us a correct idea of the three campaigns at the end of which he entered into a definitive treaty with the Kalinga ruler, thus bringing the war, an unpleasant war as it seems to have been felt, to a happy conclusion, thus releasing the king for work which called for his attention elsewhere. At each stage of this war, when he achieved a definite success, he visited the shrine and made donations suitable to the character of the achievement, as if to mark his feeling of gratitude to the God Venkaṭēśa, whom he seems to have regarded as in the main responsible for his success. This is shown the more clearly in the character of the benefactions which he made on each one of these occasions, and particularly on the occasion in which his queen blessed him with a son and heir. It is in the course of these campaigns, and, in all probability, at the end of his third or fourth visit when he actually put up the most elaborate of the records in the temple, that he felt bound to demonstrate his devotion to Śrī Venkaṭēśa by making copper casts of himself and his two queens, and setting them up in front of the temple in the attitude of worshipping devotees. Although there is no

inscriptional record marking the date of this act of his, we may be certain that it was on the occasion of his fourth visit that this was done, as soon after Chinnādēvi seems to have died, and could not be represented as being in his company. That the statues were those of Krishṇa and his two queens is evidenced for us as their names are marked just on the back of the statues on the shoulder, Tirumala being the queen on the left and Chinnādevi on the right of the King, although the epigraphist's report reverses the position. The epigraphist probably meant the observer's right and left unless he was influenced in his opinion by the fact that the right is the proper place for the crowned queen. On this occasion, his own priest the royal *Purōhit* of the court accompanied him as did the priest's father who held that office before the son took his place. The father bore the name Rangā Dīkshitar, and the son Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshitar. We have a separate grant by the son, a little later, made to the temple, while the father is mentioned as the recipient of the donor's share of the *prasāda* from one of the great gifts of Krishṇa. It is also probably on this occasion that the old man Rangā Dīkshitar in all probability, made the fugitive verse to celebrate the occasion in which the king and the queens were in the sanctum

offering their devotions with all the fervour suitable to the occasion. The Sanskrit verse* which, in a mutilated form passses current as one of Appaya Dīkshita's in relation to God Varadarāja in Conjivaram, is rendered freely as follows: "Seeing the beautiful lady, the colour of whose body was of golden beauty, and, thinking that it was His consort (Śrī Lakshmī) herself in another form, Śrī Vaikuṇṭha (God Venkaṭēśa) with the access of suspicion it might be Śrī herself, glanced down at his chest (to see if she was not there)."

It looks rather like the old *Purōhit* to have paid this compliment to the queeen directly and to the king indirectly, with all the dexterity of diction he was capable of. That must have appealed specially to Krishṇa, whose taste for turns of literary expression was considered always great. Among the private benefactions we find a number made by private individuals for the spiritual merit of the king, these including officers of the standing of the chief general Rāma Nāyaka, and generals like Appā Piḷḷai and Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja down to a woman, Ekkāḍi Timmamman, daughter of Nalla Gangamman (No. 124).

---

* द्दष्ट्वा काञ्चनगौराङ्गीम् साक्षात् श्रियमिवापराम् ।
वैकुण्ठस्सम्शयापन्नः वक्षस्तलम् अवैक्षत ॥

A BRILLIANT REIGN COMING TO A GLOOMY END. The years since A. D. 1524 became clouded with the calamity that befell him in the death of his son which took place perhaps in that year, or the year following, at the age of six. He cherished the son, young as he was, as heir to the throne, as the child's name occurs in inscriptions as ruler of a province already, and perhaps even as exercising some authority at head-quarters. Krishṇa's mind seems to have got unhinged, and the government had to be conducted for him by his brother Achyuta for some years. He probably recovered both from the shock, and from perhaps the illness consequent on it, and during the last two or three years of his reign, he managed to conduct the administration, although the period was troubled with some rebellions of his loyal lieutenants, the reason for which we are not able to guess. Two at least of his most famous lieutenants, Sāḷuva Nāyaka or Sāḷuva Timmā Nāyaka, a Brahman officer governing the middle country was one, and Nāgama Nāyaka, the old and tried officer of Sāḷuva Narasimha, and after him Narasa, showed an inclination to disobey, being viceroys of the central region and Madura respectively. There seems to have been some trouble culminating in suspicion against his chief minister himself Sāḷuva Timmarasa, and his son.

Thus distracted and troubled Krishṇa came to the close of a brilliant career in which he had succeeded in setting the empire upon a footing of permanence. The inscriptional records of Tirupati give us a faithful picture of his achievements confirming other inscriptions and some detailed accounts that we have of his achievements in literature.

KRISHNA'S BENEFACTIONS TO LITERATURE AND RELIGION. Apart from his military achievements and the exhibition of his great devotion to the temple at Tirupati, he showed himself a liberal minded patron and supporter of Hindu *dharma* that a Hindu monarch is expected to be. His political ideas which find expression in his works were those of *dharma* as defined in the generally accepted standard treatises of the *Dharma Śastra* of the Hindus. He was a scholar himself, and has left us works in Sanskrit and Telugu. What was more, he was a great patron of letters and held an assembly of the learned (*Brahma sadas*), every year on the occasion of the spring festival bringing about literary contests and competitions making liberal presents and gifts with a lavish hand wherever he found merit. It is on record that when Allasāni Peddana, the chief among the eight great literary men of his court designated the eight guardian elephants of the directions

(ashta diggaja), he insisted upon his right to take a direct part in carrying the learned Pandit on a palanquin, an extraordinary honour done to learning for extraordinary merit. This is what is generally known as *Brahmaratha.*

His public benefactions to temples and religion were not confined to the Vaishṇava religion or to Vaishṇava temples alone. He made these benefactions to all the temples in South India irrespective of their character, although his personal devotion was specially to that of Tirupati. He seems to have set his heart on repairing all the damages that South Indian temples suffered in the confused period of history preceding that of Vijayanagar, particularly periods of invasion and war, and he did make provision for this restoration extending over a long period of time. Several of them have been carried to completion, some of them have not had the good fortune. One peculiar feature of his benefactions is that all the great *gōpuras* in South India go by the name *Rāyagōpura* because of the fashion that he set of providing such front gateways for the temples of the south. In addition to the Krishṇasvāmi temple which he built in Vijayanagar, he was responsible for the structure, at least the major part of it, of the Viṭṭalasvāmi temple in Hampi as well. His benefactions

were no less to the great Śiva temple at Hampi. The second *gōpuram* is recorded to have been built by him and a temple to Pampāpati, the presiding deity of Hampi, the lower part of the structure of which was unearthed within the area of Hampi, was begun and carried through in part within the limits of the capital. When he actually died, he was succeeded by the next younger brother Achyutarāya, who had already carried on the administration for him for a few years, and, at any rate, in the last years of his reign, held positions of responsibility notwithstanding the fact that Krishṇa was charged with having confined him in the fort of Chandragiri as popular tradition has it. Achyuta succeeded to the throne without dispute, perhaps not altogether without provoking jealousies. We shall have to deal with that later.

VAISHNAVA CHARACTER OF THE SHRINE DURING VIJAYANAGAR RULE: Taking into one view the period of dominence of the Sāḷuvas and that of the Tuḷuvas down to the end of Krishṇarāya's reign, we may characterise the period, so far as Tirupati is concerned, as that of Vaishṇava reconstruction, and the establishment of Vaishṇava dominence in the principal Vaishṇava holy places, typically among them, Śrīrangam, Tirupati and Conjivaram. We have already noted

that Rāmānuja's efforts at organisation of worship in Tirupati put matters on a satisfactory footing, and we pointed out already that while all that Rāmānuja did rests upon traditional information only so far, such references as we get to some of his institutions in the later inscriptions give us definitely to understand that Rāmānuja's organisation as a whole obtained and continued to be in force in the period following down to the end of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, at least down to the reign of emperor Mallikārjuna. During that period we have seen a decline in the position of the South Indian Hindu dynasties which had control of this region followed by a revival. Early in the course of this revival came in the Muhammadan invasions which continued for about a score of years culminating in the establishment even of a Muhammadan dynasty in the south. Such of the Hindu dynasties as did exist in some power had to strain their every nerve to dislodge these Muhammadans, and thus get rid of the Muhammadan influence from these localities. Essentially therefore it was a period of struggle, in which the founders of the empire of Vijayanagar have had to bear their part. When ultimately they were able to overthrow the Muhammadan dominence, there was something like a conscious effort at restoration of the Hindu shrines and

religions, and other institutions all over this part of the country. In this movement, it was not only the rulers but everybody that was worth the name, did his best and made honourable contributions towards the restoration. It is the autonomous character of the administration of these religious institutions that is mainly responsible for their maintenance receiving as they did the unstinted support of the state whenever there was need for it, irrespective of the individual convictions of the rulers. It became almost the recognised function of the state to provide for the maintenance of all religions. Vishṇu temples were therefore the sphere of the Vaishṇavas, and it was their business primarily to see to it that they were placed in regular working order as before under Hindu rule. Tirupati was no exception to this rule and in this work those who made themselves responsible for the management of the temple had the countenance and full sympathy of the rulers for the time being. That was the condition of things so far as Tirupati was concerned in the days of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar. But with the advent of the Śāḷuvas to power, the proximity of their capital and their being themselves Vaishṇavas gave additional stimulus to this work of restoration, and Tirupati was brought back to, if it ever had departed much from, Rāmānuja's organisation. The

contention raised in the days of Rāmānuja as to the Śaiva character of the shrine seems to have been given complete quietus by Rāmānuja, and there is no reference as far as we know in contemporary records or literature, that this claim was put forward even to the extent that it is done now-a-days. If there was any suspicion it is likely to find expression, and we mention that fact here for the simple reason that we have an important piece of evidence on this particular matter. The poet Aruṇagirināthar, the author of the *Tiruppukaḻ*, was a special devotee of Subrahmaṇya, and the whole of the *Tiruppukaḻ* gives expression to his devotion to that particular form of the deity. We have already pointed out that this deity, Subrahmaṇya, is associated peculiarly in Hindu tradition with hills, so that wherever there is a hill of any prominence, Subrahmaṇya gets to be associated with the hill, if not monumentally, at least mentally. If therefore the author of the *Tiruppukaḻ* had the slightest justification, he would certainly have referred to Tirupati as he does in the case of other hill shrines, in association with his favourite God Subrahmaṇya. We do not know much that is definite about the life history of that author. We cannot even say definitely whether he was a Brahman or other than Brahman, although we may say that, from

the internal evidence of his poem, perhaps we may have to regard him as a Non-Brahman, or at least as a Brahman without any particular claims to Brahmanical learning as such. Be that as it may, Aruṇagirināthar, the author, refers himself to the time of a Prauḍadēvarāya, which title we find associated with Dēvarāya II, sometimes with his brother, and more generally with his son and successor Mallikārjuna. We may therefore safely take Aruṇagirināthar, the author of the *Tiruppukaḻ*, to have been contemporary with Mallikārjuna, and therefore belonging comparatively speaking to the earlier part of the period with which we are concerned. He makes as many as eight specific references to Tirupati as such. This author seems to be fond of referring to Subrahmaṇya as the nephew of Vishṇu. That point comes in for allusion off and on throughout the work. That is the general motive of these references. Oftentimes the reference is circumstantial, and describes some one or other of the special features of Vishṇu. Seven of these references to Tirupati, of which one is under the name Ēḻumalai, three under the name Vaḍamalai, and three under the name Vēngaḍam are to Subrahmaṇya's association with Tirupati in general terms. One other reference there is, calling the place Vēngaḍam, constituting stanza 175 of the *Tiruppukaḻ* and

referring to the Śaiva temple at Tiruvānjiyam, which makes the point clear that the hill Vēngaḍam is the hill of Vishṇu, where Subrahmaṇya also finds a place, a contention which Rāmānuja admitted according to the *Srī Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamālā*. According to this, the Śaiva contention was first of all that the main image in the temple of Venkaṭēśa is of a character not specially and indisputably associated with Vishṇu, and therefore the place must be regarded as a place sacred to Śiva because of some Śaiva features in the image and in the mode of worship, or at least, from certain names and associations, sacred to Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva. Rāmānuja pointed out that all that is said of Subrahmaṇya is that he performed a penance to Vishṇu there, and that he is actually associated in that tradition with a part of the hill with a waterfall called *Kumāradhārika*, because of the place being associated with Subrahmaṇya and his penance. A comparison of this one passage with the seven others leaves no doubt that, in the estimation of the author of the *Tiruppukaḻ*, Tirupati or Vēngaḍam was peculiarly the hill of Vishṇu, though in other passages as in this one, he puts it beyond a doubt that Subrahmaṇya also had a place on Tiruvēngaḍamāmalai. The passage concerned in stanza 175 as also a couple of lines from stanza 1,260 is

set down side by side for purposes of comparison*. In the days, therefore of the author of the *Tiruppukaḻ*, Tirupati had come to be recognised as a Vaishṇava place even in the estimation of a devoted Śaiva like Aruṇagirināthar. We cannot ordinarily expect the inscriptions at Tirupati to give expression to anything savouring of the place being associated with Śiva or Subrahmaṇya. In all the benefactions to the

---

* உபசாந்த சித்த குருகுல
பவபாண்டவர்க்கு வரதன்மை
யுருவோன் ப்ரசித்த நெடியவன்—ரிஷிகேசன்

உலகீன்ற லச்சை யுமையணன்
வடவேங்கடத்திலுறைபவன்
உயர்சார்ங்க சக்ரகரதலன்—மருகோனே

திருப்புகழ், திருவாஞ்சியம்), 175 — *Saiva Siddhanta Edn.*

கரிவாம்பரி தேர்திரள் சேனையும்
உடனாந் துரியோதன னாதிகள்
களமாண்டிடவே யொரு பாரதம்—அதிலேகிக்

களபாண்டவர் தேர்தனிலே யெழு
பரிதூண்டிய சாரதியாகிய
கதிரோங்கிய நேமியனாமரி—ரகுராமன்

திரைநீண் டிரைவாரியும் வாலியும்
நெடிதோங்குமரா மரமேழொடு
தசமாஞ்சிர ராவணனார்முடி—பொடியாக

சிலைவாங்கிய நாரணனார் மரு
மகனாங் குகனே பொழில் சூழ்தரு
திருவேங்கட மாமலை மேவிய பெருமாளே.

(திருப்புகழ், 1,260)

temple made by officials and non-officials alike there is no reference to any other shrine than that of the Vaishṇava deities in all the records that have come down to us from these Vaishṇava shrines, perhaps naturally.

THE VAISHNAVA ACHARYAS AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH TIRUPATI: We have references, however, to numbers of Vaishṇava Āchāryas, ascetics as well as family men among them, as playing an important part in the management of the affairs of the temple as well as in the general management of the affairs of the town itself. We have come upon a number of records, as will be remembered, referring to a Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, a disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, who is regarded as in a way the spiritual preceptor of Sāḷuva Narasimha and his successors perhaps. There are a number of others referred to also, though not in the same prominence as these. This is evidence of the intimate association of these Āchāryas with the holy place. But then there are allusions to a number of visits paid by various Vaishṇava Āchāryas as recorded in the Vaishṇava *Guruparamparās*, which find no echo whatsoever in the records of the temple. We have already noted that at least since the days of Rāmānuja, Tirupati had become recognised as one of the three Vaishṇava *holy of holies*, and

almost every Vaishṇava Ācharya of any importance paid more than one visit to Tirupati. The succession of teachers who followed Rāmānuja were generally centred in Śrīrangam, while a certain number perhaps actually belonged to localities round Conjivaram and were oftentimes resident there. Among these there was a succession of dominating personalities who occupied actually the position that Rāmānuja did; and a number of others, the next in importance, though high in rank, also were recognised as teachers, one or two of all round capacity; but there were a number associated with one or two of the half a dozen separate branches of learning associated with Vaishṇavism.

While therefore other places like Kānchi, Tirupati and Kumbhakōṇam, did claim a very considerable body of scholars and divines resident therein, it was in a way generally recognised that Śrīrangam was the headquarters of the Vaishṇavas, and the scholars assembled there in the temple more or less under the lead of the most prominent scholar for the time being, continued to be the assembly of Vaishṇavism almost since the days of Rāmānuja's successor, Piḷḷān, and for a number of generations under his successors in that leadership. There had gathered therefore in this place quite a large

body of scholars, writing and teaching, and quite a number of prominent men who still regarded themselves in a condition of tutelage in the higher reaches of Vaishṇava learning. This happy state of things was rudely shaken when the Muhammadan invasions broke in upon the distant south. The main objective of these invasions was seriously nothing more than plunder, and the South Indian temples had a reputation for the accumulated wealth of centuries. Among these South Indian temples Śrīrangam was by far the most famous, and might even be regarded as the richest among the richer South Indian shrines. The first Muhammadan invasions under Malik Kafur and later under Khusru, the general of Mubarak, were both of them passing raids comparatively speaking. When the temple and the town were attacked, this body of religious people scattered themselves from the place and put themselves out of the way, and reassembled when the place had regained something of the peace associated with it. But the invasion of Muhammad Tughlak in the years A.D. 1327–28 culminated in the founding of a viceregal government in the south with headquarters at Madura with garrisons here and there, among them, one place, in some strength, the old Hoyśāla capital across the Coleroon, which is now the village Kaṇṇanūr; and it looks from certain references in

literature that the head of the garrison here even exercised active control over the town of Śrīrangam. Śrīrangam therefore had become untenable for these quiet people for the peaceful pursuit of their religion. It was then that the assembly of the Vaishṇava scholars broke up. A pretty large number marched northwards to Kānchi and remained there; and a certain number retired farther south much past Madura into Tinnevelly for the peaceful pursuit of their avocations. This caused the split in the united *ghōṣṭi* (assembly) of the Vaishṇavas, and seems to be more or less at bottom responsible for the later *Vaḍa-Kalai* and *Ten-Kalai* sects which found justification even in some doctrinal differences in regard to the relation between the Vaidīc learning and the *Prabandha*, and in regard to a few other points of conviction. We have already stated that Muhammad Tughlak's invasions culminated in the establishment of an independent Sultanate of Madura which held its own, though precariously, for more than half a century till it was turned out by the invasions of Kumāra Kampaṇa of Vijayanagar. When the first onset of the Muhammadan attacks was over, Śrīrangam perhaps regained its peaceful life partially, and the assembly of Vaishṇava scholars began to gather again. Kānchi did afford a convenient centre for some of them, and the more prominent

of the older among them continued to stay there and thus created another centre of Vaishṇava religion and learning. They seem ever since to have remained more or less separate except on those few occasions when a dominating personality made it possible to regard Śrīrangam, the chief centre, as under Vēdānta Dēśika just before this split. What concerns the history of Tirupati in this matter is that the establishment of a section of these in Conjivaram brought them much closer to Tirupati, and the Vaishṇava *ghōṣṭi* in Conjivaram came to be in closer association with Tirupati.

CHAPTER VI.

TIRUPATI AND THE LATER SRI VAISHNAVA ACHARYAS.

VEDANTA DESIKA AND TIRUPATI: While Tirupati maintained its reputation for sanctity, and holy men among the Vaishṇavas, religious and lay, paid visits to the place, they were rather visits of pilgrimage, few and far between generally. But with Vēdānta Dēśika, we come to a somewhat closer association. His very birth is ascribed to the blessing of God Venkaṭēśa, and both his father and mother are said to have paid a visit to the temple. After Vēdānta Dēśika himself became a man of established reputation and the leading scholar among the Vaishṇavas, he is said to have paid two visits to the temple, one in the course of a pilgrimage to holy places, and another specially to this particular place. We find no hint of it nor reference to it in the inscriptions that have come down to us from the temple so far. We have no means from the material so far available to us of fixing, if not precisely, at least approximately, the time of these visits. The *Guruparamparā* account of Vēdānta Dēśika, even that of the Tṛtīya Bṛahmatantrasvāmi, is a mere jumble of what

this great Āchārya did without any kind of order being traceable in the narrative, not to speak of dating the more important events. According to these accounts, Vēdānta Dēśika was born in the year corresponding to A.D. 1268, and an inscription in Śrīrangam datable A.D. 1370 is a record of thanksgiving composed by Vēdānta Dēśika for the great service rendered to the temple by Gōpaṇārya, the governor of Ginjee, an officer of the first Sāḷuva rulers of Chandragiri who acted in cooperation with Kumāra Kampaṇa in his southern invasions. The completion of the work undertaken by this invading army under Kampaṇa has been marked by two great events, one of which was the rebuilding of the temple at Madura, completely destroyed by the invaders, and the restoration of the temple at Śrīrangam to its normal position of the great holy centre that it was. So Vēdānta Dēśika according to this dating lived for a little over a century, which includes in it the last third of the thirteenth and almost the first three quarters of the fourteenth centuries. Vēdānta Dēśika's life activity therefore must have been practically all in the fourteenth century according to this dating. Even so, the account that these hagiologists give of Vēdānta Dēśika's life would seem to make a correction necessary in regard to their dating. If their dating is correct, he

must have died soon after, if not in the actual year, A.D. 1370. But these accounts ascribe to him so much that he did after he returned to Śrīrangam that he must have lived some years after the restoration of the temple. We have already drawn attention to the fact that a correction of fifteen or sixteen years, perhaps twenty, seems called for in regard to the actual date of Rāmānuja's life. Whether a correction like that would be enough for Vēdānta Dēśika is doubtful, but at least that correction would seem to be necessary. However, Vēdānta Dēśika's active life comes in the period when the region round Tirupati was more or less under the government of the local chieftains, the Yādavarāyas in particular, the Chōḻa empire having weakened, and almost passed out of existence, and the empire of the Pāṇḍyas having just begun. While there are inscriptional records in the temple during the period, they are not exactly of the same character, as those under the empire of Vijayanagar. It was not merely Vēdānta Dēśika, but his son also who succeeded to his position is said to have paid a visit, and during his time a much respected old disciple of Vēdānta Dēśika known by the title Brahmatantra Svatantrasvāmi, was put in charge of the temple at Tirupati, and he is said to have resided there for a number of years. Even of that we have no

echo in the records. Following Vēdānta Dēśika's son, Varadāchārya, or Nayinārāchārya, some distance down, comes the first *Sanyāsin*, the founder of the Ahōbala *maṭha*, known as Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpasvāmi. He is associated with Tirupati in the Vaishṇava accounts. We have fortunately a number of references to him, his *maṭha*, his garden, his *maṇṭapa* and even a disciple of his Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, all in the inscriptions of the time of Krishṇadēvarāya. His visit to Tirupati therefore and his stay for some years there seem to be historical facts. Even so, his association with Tirupati is not altogether without chronological difficulty.

THE FIRST AHOBALA JIYARS AND TIRUPATI. His period of life according to the accounts of the Ahōbala *maṭha* happens to extend from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1458. He was a native of Tirunārāyaṇapuram where he completed his secular education by his twentieth year, and came down to Conjivaram to complete it under the well-known divine and scholar of the time Ghaṭikā Śatam Ammāḷ. Having been with him for some time, he proceeded to Ahōbalam, to which he felt a call, and was ordained as a *Sanyāsin* by God Lakshmīnṛsimha in Ahōbalam. Thus initiated, he became the first pontiff of the institution, which has since gone by the name the Ahōbala

maṭha. He felt it his mission, it was so put to him by God himself as it was said, to go about and restore the teaching of Rāmānuja to its position of influence in all the centres of Vaishṇava activity since the days of Rāmānuja. He had therefore to wander a good deal, and do his work as his particular mission on earth. The account as it is given of his doings does not give us anything like a reliable chronological basis, and his main achievements are merely recited. He is credited with a large number of structures of importance in well-known temples which should have involved immense expenditure. He could not have carried them out without the support of local rulers and influential men. Unfortunately no mention is made of any such of any known dynasty, so that notwithstanding much that is said about him, we are left in the air to locate him on any time scheme. We shall have to readjust the account on the basis of the inscriptions at Tirupati.

There are two inscriptions in Tirupati in Volume III relating to the period of Krishṇadēvarāya, namely Nos. 110 and 114, both of them referring to Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, of which the first makes provision for the merit of Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar on his birthday asterism of *Jyēshṭa*. The two inscriptions are dated on

different days and months of the same year Ś. 1438 corresponding to A.D. 1516. Both the records refer to Nārāyaṇa Jīyar as *śishya* (disciple) of Śrī Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. This might seem to justify our regarding Nārāyaṇa Jīyar as not having yet succeeded to the pontificate of the Ahōbala *maṭha*. This seems in a way negatived by the reference in inscription No. 110 to "our own *maṭha*", the *maṭha* that is called Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar *maṭha*, or, more generally, the Ahōbala *maṭha*. We may therefore have to take the date A.D. 1516 as in the pontificate of Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, the second among the Ahōbalam Jīyars. Apart from the actual specific date given in the *Ahōbala Maṭha Guru-paramparā* according to which the period of life of the first Jīyar, should have been A D. 1378 to A.D. 1458, this Jīyar had had a period of ministration of sixty years at the end of which he passed the office on to his disciple Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, who occupied the responsible position for a period of thirteen years. So between them there were seventy-three years of tenancy of the pontificate. If we take the date A.D. 1378 as the date of birth of Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, his eighty years bring him down to A.D. 1458, and thirteen years therefrom would make A.D. 1471, the last year of the pontificate of Nārāyaṇa Jīyar. Whereas we have here a specific date A.D. 1516

given for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar in the inscriptions at Tirupati. What is more, this date is not one given by way of a mere indirect reference, but is the date of an actual record of a donation made by the *Svāmi* himself, and must have been put on record necessarily under his orders, and, it may be, even under his supervision. It must necessarily therefore be taken as a contemporary record which could not be brushed aside. Accepting therefore A.D. 1516 as a date, say, more or less in the middle of Nārayaṇa Jīyar's pontificate, we shall have to make an adjustment here by pushing up the dates of these Jīyars by about sixty years, if we take the date A.D. 1516 as some time in the middle of Nārāyaṇa Jīyar's pontificate. We have another date in an inscription of the time of Sadāśivarāya for the sixth pontiff Shashta Parānkuśa, to whom Sadāśivarāya gave, according to an inscription in Ahōbalam itself, the village of Bhāshyapuram, where he resided for some time and carried on his mission. The Christian date equivalent to it is some time in A.D. 1455. But we have yet another date much more indubitable than this, and relating to this *maṭha* in an inscription of the time of Śrī Rangarāya dated Ś. 1506, and therefore equivalent to A. D. 1584–85. That is an inscription which records a historical event of considerable importance not only, but recounts also two

incidents in the history of the pontificate which prove landmarks in history.

This is the Ahōbalam inscription relating to a grant made for the merit of a local chief, Koṇḍarāju Venkaṭarāju, the son of Timmarāju. This inscription says that, in a year corresponding to A.D. 1578-79, Ibrahim Qutub Shah of Gōlkoṇḍa invaded the Vijayanagar country and carried the raid up to the walls of Penugoṇḍa. In the course of this raid Ahōbalam fell into his hands and remained in the possession of the Muhammadans for five or six years. In this the Gōlkoṇḍa Sultan was assisted by a Hanḍe Chief, Malakappa Nāyuḍu. It was then that Śrī Vaṇ Śāṭakōpasvāmi sought the intervention of Śrī Rangarāya to recover Ahōbalam from the Muhammadans. This Jīyar is said to be the seventh in succession to the first Jīyar whom, according to the inscription, God himself called on to assume the robes of renunciation and carry on the mission of the Vaishṇava teaching of Rāmānuja. He is also described as the direct disciple of Śrī Parānkuśasvāmi, generally known Shashṭa Parānkuśa, who is stated, in the inscription, to have gone to Purushōttamam (Pūri or Jagannāth) and had been treated with the greatest respect by the ruler Mukundadēva, with whose assistance he set up the images of the

Aḻvārs in the Vishṇu shrine there. As the *Kāryakarta* of the *Svāmi*, Rāchappa made an appeal, and Śrīranga ordered preparations for an invasion by himself. When he was told that that was hardly necessary as the chief referred to, Koṇḍayya Venkaṭarāju, volunteered service and his good offices would be quite adequate if the emperor granted permission. The emperor granted the permission sought, and Ahōbalam was recovered. Here the inscription is definitely dated in A.D. 1584–85, which must have fallen within the period of the pontificate of the seventh Jīyar Śaṭakōpa. Then six years previous to this, A.D. 1578–79, Ahōbalam fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, and remained in their possession till it was recovered in A.D. 1584–85. Passing over the references to Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, which confirms the tradition that he assumed the office of *Maṭhādhipati* at the instance of God Nṛsimha at Ahōbalam, we have the historical information that it was Shashṭa Parānkuśa who went to Jagannāth and set up the idols of the Āḻvārs with the good offices of Mukundadēva, the usurping ruler of Orissa at the time. Mukundadēva's known dates are A.D. 1551 to A.D. 1571, and Parānkuśa Jīyar would have been his contemporary, whatever the actual date of his visit. This statement of the inscription is of particular importance as contradicting and

correcting the Vaishṇava tradition which generally takes it that it was the first Śaṭakōpa Jīyar who paid the visit to Mukundadēva and set up the Aḻvārs which, having regard to the known dates of Mukundadēva, would be impossible. We have therefore three inscriptional dates for these Ahōbala Jīyars of quite contemporary value, namely, A.D. 1516 for the second pontiff Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, another date A.D. 1555 for the grant of Bhāshyapuram to Shashṭa Parānkuśa by Śadāśivarāya. This date is in accord with the statement in the Ahōbalam inscription that he visited Purushōttamam in the reign of Mukundadēva, A.D. 1551–1567. Then there is the third date for Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa III, the immediate successor of Shashṭa Parānkuśa in A.D. 1584–85, a contemporary of Śrī Rangarāya. The traditional dates with a correction of just two years, which is due to an obvious mistake, happen to be for Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar A.D. 1378–1458:

Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jīyar A.D. 1458 to A.D. 1471.
Parānkuśa Jīyar I, A.D. 1471 to A.D. 1482.
Śrīnivāsa Yati A.D. 1482 to A.D. 1491.
Śaṭakōpa II, A.D. 1491 to A.D. 1496.
Parānkuśā II, distinguished as Shashṭa Parānkuśa A.D. 1496 to A.D. 1510.
Śaṭakōpa III, A.D. 1510 to A.D. 1520.
Parānkuśa III, A.D. 1520 to A.D. 1535.
Nārāyaṇa Yati, A.D. 1535 to A.D. 1542.

THE CORRECTION NECESSARY IN THESE DATES.

We may neglect the successors for the time being. It will thus be seen that these nine Jīyars of the Ahōbala *maṭha* discharged the duties of the headship of the *maṭha* up to the end of the reign of Achyutarāya, beginning almost with the origin of the empire of Vijayanagar. On the basis of the first two inscriptional dates there is a difference of about fifty-eight years, or almost sixty years roundly, and, on the basis of the last date for the seventh pontiff of A.D. 1584-85, the error comes up to as much as sixty-four or sixty-five years even taking the last year of the traditional list. We may therefore take it roughly that the *Guruparamparā* dates are in error by about sixty years. Overlooking for the moment, that there would be a discrepancy from the dates of the sixth and the seventh pontiffs even on this basis. This error is perhaps due to mistakes in the details of the periods of tenancy of the separate pontiffs. But, taken on the whole, there is an antedating by about sixty years. It would be rather rash to carry this correction of sixty years into even the previous periods, for which perhaps a different correction may be required. We may therefore take it that the pontificate of Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa covered a period of sixty years which is likely enough as he had become a pontiff a

young man of twenty as the traditional accounts have it. Counting sixty years backwards from A.D. 1516, the date available for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, it would take us to A.D. 1456. It is just possible the date A.D. 1516 for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar may have been a date in the middle of his pontificate or even early, and an error of a maximum of thirteen years is possible. But taking the date A.D. 1516 as somewhere in the middle of the pontificate of the second Jīyar, the first pontiff's period would correspond to the period of Sāḷuva Narasimha and his successors down to the first few years of the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya. The first Parānkuśa would be contemporary with Achyutarāya, the next three with Sadāśiva and Tirumala, and the seventh with Śrī Rangarāya more or less. What really concerns us, however, is not exactly the correct period of the pontificate of these Jīyars; far rather their activity in Tirupati and their association with it. This Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar seems to have played an active part in the organisation of worship, etc., in Tirupati as his name figures in a number of inscriptions, and as was stated already, a *maṭha*, a garden, and a number of other services are associated with his name in the Dēvastānam inscriptions of the period. But his name actually does not occur in any of the inscriptions either as donor or

otherwise. That is not strange, having regard to the fact that practically everything was left to the local people, the government interfering but little. As we shall see, it is not this pontiff alone that remains unmentioned. There is enough evidence, however, to accept the fact that this pontiff played an active part in the affairs of Tirupati, as there is enough direct reference to it. Similarly the fact of omission of references in inscriptions to the other great Vaishṇava Āchāryas as well as Vēdānta Dēśika and his son, in respect of their visits to Tirupati and their residence there for short periods in the course of their mission, would be nothing surprising. Their visit and ministration at Tirupati need not be rejected on the ground that they find no mention in the inscriptions. We see then that the period beginning with Sāḷuva Narasimha and ending with the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya was a period of great Vaishṇava activity in Tirupati. Tirupati received the sympathy and even the active support of the subordinate government of Chandragiri during the first half of the period, and even that of the imperial government of Vijayanagar during the second half.

FROM VEDANTA DESIKA TO THE SECOND AHOBALA JIYAR. The period with which we are at present concerned, namely, the period extending

from the beginning of the Sāḷuvas at Chandragiri down to the end of the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, may practically be regarded as the period of activity of the first Ahōbalam Jīyars. A number of Āchāryas of the Vaishṇavas flourished in the period preceding, and of them practically all the prominent men paid visits to Tirupati and lived for some time in the holy place as was usually the case with them. Among them we must mention most prominently Śrī Vēdānta Dēśika, who as was stated already, paid two visits to Tirupati and stayed for some considerable time in the place during his last visit. Vēdānta Dēśika's time is, according to the *Guruparamparās*, A.D 1268 to A.D. 1369. This period is not without difficulty for him. It would be difficult to reconcile the details of his life history with this actual period. The main source for Vēdānta Dēśika's history is the *Vaibhava Prakāśika* of Doḍḍayāchārya or Mahāchārya, who casts this work on the model of Vēdānta Dēśika's *Yatirājasaptati*, which is more or less a work in praise (*stōṭra*) reciting the various achievements of Rāmānuja without any reference to a chronological order. So does the *Vaibhava Prakāśika* bear on the life of Vēdānta Dēśika. We can say nothing about the date of his birth except the fact that he was supposed to have been born as the result of a dream in

which Śrī Vēnkaṭēśa of Tirupati appeared to his parents in a dream, and presented them with the bell which was being used on occasions of offering worship in the temple. It was discovered that the bell was lost, and, as the result of a search, it was discovered that it had been given away by the God. Hence even now worship is being offered without ringing the hand-bell as is usual in all other temples as at Tirupati before this. Immediately on the birth of a son, the parents are said to have paid a visit to Tirupati, of which we have no reflection in the records that have come down to us. In respect of a certain number of incidents connected with his life, it is possible to have historical proof, and we shall have to take the statement of the life details of Vēdānta Dēśika on the basis of these. Vēdānta Dēśika was a man who had attained to great reputation as a scholar and teacher at Conjivaram, where he was born and had his early education, from where he was invited to Śrīrangam to assume the headship of the Vaishṇava assembly there as a scholar of extraordinary eminence and brilliant achievements comparatively early in his life. It was in this condition that these Vaishṇavas were scattered away from Śrīrangam as a result of the Muhammadan irruption. The *Kōvil-Oḷugu*, which is an account of the temple at Śrīrangam, seems to

make this invasion the invasion of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in A.D.1328, which went farther south and ended in the occupation of Madura and the creation of a Muhammadan governorship there. There are even a few inscriptions in the south of the Pudukkotta state and in Ramnad, referring themselves to the reign of Muhammad which put it beyond a doubt that this invasion of Muhammad Tughlak resulted in throwing the whole Tamil country into confusion and made life impossible for the assembled Vaishṇavas in Śrīrangam. The *Guruparamparā* of Tṛtīya Brahmatantrasvāmi, who was near enough in time to Vēdānta Dēśika, to have known the details of his life, seems to refer to a date corresponding to A.D. 1336, when it is possible there was Muhammadan activity in the vicinity of Śrīrangam. That was the year following the establishment of Muhammad's officer in Madura as independent Sultan. He might have strengthened the garrison at Kaṇṇanūr, or otherwise provided for defending himself against an attack from Muhammad which did not come because of his having been involved at the time with a more serious rebellion in Bengal. But then the *Kōvil-Oḻugu* account which narrates the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Ranganātha image which was being carried away for safety from the temple southwards, seems more or less to confirm the

Muhammadan activities following A.D. 1328 rather than A.D. 1336, thus apparently giving us a difference of eight years between the two different accounts. One party of the Vaishṇavas at Śrīrangam went away south, carrying the image of Ranganātha, along with Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, who dodged the invader by travelling through forest paths and shifting from place to place as the army came nearer and nearer, till the Āchārya himself died in Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in the course of the journey. Vēdānta Dēśika retired northwestwards into the territory of Mysore. The *Guruparamparā* accounts somehow mention the place of his stay at Satyamangalam *on the banks of the Kāvēri*. But the local accounts in Mysore mention the village Satyagālam a few miles from Koḷḷegāl, which is on the banks of the Kāvēri, while Satyamangalam is on the Bhavāni, much farther down. He resided there for a number of years quietly even paying a visit to Tirunārāyaṇapuram where he is said to have built a temple to Rāmānuja in front of the big shrine and installed Rāmānuja's image there and arranged for its worship. When the chieftains who founded Vijayanagar had successfully carried their invasions southwards and dislodged the Muhammadan garrisons from various localities, they felt sufficient confidence to make an attempt at rebuilding the temple of

Madura which was completely destroyed, and restoring the temple at Śrīrangam, bringing back the image which had wandered all over and found shelter in one of the secret glades round the hill of Tirupati and reinstalling the image in the temple. Vēdānta Dēśika is said to have returned then to Śrīrangam, and one of his verses is found in an inscription in the temple which records the fact that Gōpaṇārya, the governor of Gingee who played his own part in the conquests of the chieftains founding Vijayanagar, had brought the image down from Gingee and installed it there. The inscription is dated A.D. 1371, whereas, according to the *Guruparamparā* accounts, Vēdānta Dēśika must have died in A. D. 1369. That is not all. Vēdānta Dēśika is said to have lived in Śrīrangam for a number of years afterwards, and did certain things through the good offices of Gōpaṇārya himself, one such act being the reinstallation of Gōvindarāja in his original shrine in Chidambaram at the instance of Vēdānta Dēśika. He is also said to have remained teaching in Śrīrangam and writing just a few of the most important works of his in the last period of his life.

According to these accounts, he is said to have paid two visits to Tirupati. The earlier visit may have been when he was still in residence in

Conjivaram studying and teaching, and otherwise equipping himself for the great mission of his life. That may have been in the period before he assumed the headship of the Vaishṇava assembly in Śrīrangam. The second visit which he made, came later when his position as the head of the Vaishṇavas had been recognised. He is said to have made some stay in Tirupati and looked after the affairs of the temple and conducted the ministration from there, while it is barely possible that this visit also took place before he had to flee for safety from Śrīrangam. It was stated already that in Vaiṣhṇava estimation, Śrīrangam, Conjivaram and Tirupati became the three *holy of holies*, and in special charge of the head of the community. In the later days of his life, and, as a result of the visit to Tirupati mentioned above, Vēdānta Dēśika is said to have ordered one of his principal disciples, the first Brahmatantrasvāmi to remain in Tirupati and look after the affairs of the temple. He ordered his own son Nayinārāchārya, a somewhat younger man, though higher in point of dignity, to remain in Śrīrangam and continue his mission, while he entrusted the affairs of the temple at Conjivaram to another of his principal disciples, though he was not such a prominent figure as either the son or the Brahmatantrasvāmi. This person's name is given as Tirumalai

Śrīnivāsāchārya who, in his turn, became famous later on. This Brahmatantrasvāmi continued in charge at Tirupati. Even when Dēśika's son Nayinārāchārya as he is called, his secular name being Varadāchārya, visited Tirupati somewhat later, and when the Brahmatantrasvāmi died an old man, the management of the temple was taken over by another disciple who was known by the name Pēraruḷāḷan Appai, who became later on the *dvitīya* (second) Brahmatantrasvāmi, who continued in the management of the temple at Tirupati. But we find no echo of these transactions in the inscriptions in the temple at Tirupati which cover this period; but a certain number of prominent disciples who were contemporaries of the first and second Brahmatantrasvāmis, namely, a Ghaṭikā Śatam Ammāḷ and Doḍḍayāchārya and Prativādi Bhayamkaram Aṇṇā, the youngest of them all, do find reference in the inscriptions of the days of Krishṇadēvarāya. We are therefore not in a position definitely to reject the association of Vēdānta Dēśika or his son with Tirupati in spite of a certain amount of chronological uncertainty. The first Brahmatantara Jīyar is said to have built the shrine to Vēdānta Dēśika both in Upper Tirupati and in the Lower. We find mention of these Vēdānta Dēśika's shrines in inscriptions as already existing, and we are not told in those records as

to who built them or when these shrines were made. That gives us clearly to understand that the shrines must have been built before, and had been in existence at the time to which the reference relates. It therefore seems clear that all these Vaishṇava Āchāryas made it a point to visit Tirupati as an important shrine for the Vaishṇavas, and render some kind of service or other there chiefly by remaining and looking after the affairs of the temple, at least so far as the conduct of worship as organised by Rāmānuja was concerned. So far therefore as Vēdānta Dēśika and his contemporaries are concerned, it looks as though the correction of fifteen or sixteen years that we applied in the case of Rāmānuja will suffice, and the period of Vēdānta Dēśika and his immediate successors would then correspond to the period of the struggle culminating in the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar, the formal establishment of which may be ascribed to the year A.D. 1382 when Harihara II gave himself the full imperial titles, including among them "the establisher of the Castes and Orders", even adding the peculiarly sacerdotal title of the "establisher of the Vēda," (*Vēda-Mārga-Pratishṭāpana-Āchāyra*), usually applied to these religious teachers, whether they be ascetics or family men. Two or three generations of successors of Vēdānta Dēśika,

his son and two successors beyond him, would just cover the period of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar, and then would come in the first Ahōbalam Jīyar. Thus we seem to be in possession of fairly reliable information for the association of the Vaishṇava Āchāryas succeeding Rāmānuja with Tirupati in unbroken continuation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MADHVA ACHARYA VYASARAYASVAMI.

The Śrī Vaishṇava Āchāryas above referred to were associated with Tirupati as visitors exercising great influence as respected Āchāryas of the community, and not because of any official prestige associated with them except to the extent of having been patronised by the rulers for the time being as persons worthy of great respect. Otherwise their position was as private individuals, however respected. We have now to consider another Āchārya of great name, though not belonging to the group of Śrī Vaishṇavas. This is the Madhvāchārya known by the name Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi ordinarily, oftentimes by the names Vyāsa Guru and Vyāsa Yōgi. In regard to him and his association with Tirupati, we are lucky in the possession of a life of the Svāmi composed by one of his disciples by name Sōmanātha which is even said to have received the approval of the Svāmi himself. This is the *Champu* work, combined prose and poetry, by name *Śrī Vyāsa Yōgi Charitam* by a Sōmanātha Kavi. This has been made available to us some time since by the late Mr. B. Venkoba Rao of the Mysore Civil Service, and has been brought

out from the manuscript in possession of another member of the service, the late Mr. Srinivasamurti who secured the manuscript while he was the *Kāryakarta* of the Śrī Vyāsarāya *Maṭh* at Sosale near Mysore. As usual with Indian poetical works, this work recounts the life of the *Guru* with all the circumstantial embellishments associated with a poetical work, being at the same time substantially true to life. The one thing wanting to make it historical is a chronological setting, which perhaps is not exactly the fault of the poet, as it may be that his contemporaries and immediate successors had no difficulty in following the account, while it is found to be difficult by us, because of our peculiar circumstances. Mr. Venkoba Rao has provided an illuminating introduction running through 186 pages of the work which certainly contributes to make the work as intelligible as the circumstances of its composition would admit. The main events of the life of the Svāmi that concern us are:—

He was born in Mysore at a place called Baṇṇūr near Śrīrangapatam, and had his early education, which brought him into contact with the occupant of the Madhva *Maṭh* for the time being, who, for some reason which is not quite obvious, advised him to visit the ruler of the

time Sāḷuva Narasimha. So Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi travelled by the high road of those days through Muḷbāgal and arrived at Chandragiri, and was received at the court with all the honour due to a man of the extraordinary learning that he was, and one who had renounced the world withal. He is said to have stayed with him as a valued adviser and regarded almost as a permanent member of the court. With the accession of Narasimha to imperial power, the Svāmi's influence increased and probably he removed himself to Vijayanagar along with the monarch, and continued to remain there through the reign of his son and successor Dharmarāya, to whom the work refers in this name, as we know this to have been the actual name of Immaḍi Narasimha of the Sāḷuva dynasty. When about the end of the century Narasā Nāyaka became the all powerful *Kāryakarta* (vicegerent) of the empire, this *Svāmi* continued with him and was the recipient of extraordinary honours even from his Muhammadan contemporaries, among them a drum carried on the back of a camel and a green flag which one of the contemporary Sultans, probably the Adil Shah presented to him. He continued to occupy the same position of influence during the reign of his successor, Vīra Narasimha and even under Krishṇadēvarāya. During the period that he spent at the court

at Chandragiri, it would be perfectly natural to take it that he made visits to Tirupati perhaps several times, and he could have lived there for long periods of time, if he liked it, as even a regular member of the court. As a man holding the holy office of a *Sanyāsin*, he may have given himself the honour of residence at the holy place for comparatively long periods of time, going to court whenever his presence was called for. This seems quite likely from the position that he occupied at court. Popular tradition, supported by this work, gives him credit for a stay of twelve years at Tirupati conducting actually the worship of Lord Venkaṭēśa on the hill. Of course the years during which he made that stay and occupied that high office are not stated to us in precise terms. But the fact is generally stated that he stayed in Tirupati for twelve years and for a considerable period of this time was doing the work of a worshipping priest in the temple. Luckily for us the Tirupati inscriptions shed valuable and welcome light upon this particular position. The information however comes from a certain number of records, three of them specifically, comparatively late in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya. The records are actually dated in A. D. 1524, and a later one in A. D. 1528. These records refer to the grant of a certain number of house-sites to this pontiff for building

a *Madhva Maṭha* both on the hill and in Tirupati at the foot of the hill, and in both the places the extent of land given was two house-sites, whatever the actual size of each site at the time. These house-sites are said, in these records, to have been vacant sites in the possession of the temple, as having been confiscated under royal orders as the property of temple priests who had been charged with, and found guilty of, having stolen some temple jewels. The matter seems to have been brought to the notice of Sāḷuva Narasimha and he punished them severely as they deserved—it seems to be, although it is not explicitly stated—with death. The order was carried out so thoroughly that no competent priest of the family of sufficient age was left to carry on worship in the temple. It will be remembered here that the actual worship in the temple was entrusted to such of the descendants of the original priest Bimbādara, whom Rāmānuja was able to discover alive when he organised worship in Tirupati. There could not have been a very large number of families, as in fact these temple priests are not even now, and therefore if the principal ones of them implicated in the crime were punished, we could well imagine there may have been no qualified person left. As it was generally accepted that a man who had renounced life was likely to be under no

temptation to commit crimes of this sort, it was a recognised principle in Tirupati that such people, single men, either bachelors or men who had renounced life, were placed in charge of important positions of trust and responsibility. Being near at hand and living there, it is very probable, as tradition states it, that Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was entrusted with this office, till some one belonging to the family of the hereditary priests should become qualified to carry on the services in the temple as heretofore. That is what is actually said to have taken place on this occasion. The manner in which the reference occurs, and the almost casual and allusive way in which the whole thing is referred to, stamps the account of the inscriptions as a mere statement of fact. So then that particular event in the life of Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi that he stayed for some years at Tirupati and even officiated or supervised the conduct of worship for twelve years as the chief priest conducting worship in the temple may be accepted as a fact, though the worship should have been in the manner prescribed in the Vaikhānasa *sūtra*. But the fact of his having acquired the house-sites for building his *Maṭha* so late in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, makes the other details of his life, which describe him as occupying a position of extraordinary influence at court, and being practically the principal

adviser of the rulers, look like an exaggeration. But that need not necessarily lead us to regard his having been honoured as a principal member of the court valued for the high character of his life and learning as untrue. So then Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi might have lived at the headquarters of the empire and advised the monarchs when that advice was sought, but otherwise occupying a position of great respect. The association of the *Svāmi* with Tirupati however, seems narrowly limited to his having lived for long periods at Tirupati. His having officiated for a comparatively long stretch of years as the temple priest till the posthumous child of the family of priests should attain to age and assume the responsibility of his hereditary office stands on a different footing. This may have been due to his position and influence at court as at the time that this had happened actually there were perhaps others in Tirupati, such as Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, who may as well have been entrusted with this important work. The position, therefore, of Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was perhaps as a valued member of the court and comparatively less as a habitual resident of Tirupati exercising influence there, though he may have lived at one time for twelve years and on other occasions as well for the very good reason that living at a holy place for a number of years is considered an act of

merit by the Hindus generally. That he lived on to late years in the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya and received a grant for the building of the *Maṭha* which he himself built both in the hill and at the foot of the hill, and continued to be influential even during the succeeding reigns is all because of the great spiritual merit of the *Svāmi* as well as the judgment of the imperial rulers, who valued the presence of a man of high character at court. The advent of Rāmarāya to a position of influence even in the days of Krishṇadēvarāya is said to have altered the conditions of life of the Svāmi in Vijayanagar, and that does not concern us for the present. So far as Tirupati is concerned, Śrī Vyāsarāyasvāmi was one who was resident for long years in the place and exercised a considerable influence in the affairs of the temple for some time. His period of life activity and association with Tirupati would have been, for the most part of it, contemporaneous with the first Ahōbalam Jīyars, to whom also there are references in the inscriptions of the period which we have so far taken into consideration.

KRISHNA'S PECULIAR DEVOTION TO TIRUPATI EXPLAINED. Before taking leave of Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar in connection with Tirupati, perhaps we may advert usefully to a point in his life, which, to some extent, would explain why he

was so devoted to the temple. It was pointed out that the historical circumstances under which he came to the throne, and his responsibilities, as he conceived them, for the empire, made his position critical. At the same time, he seems to have been oppressed with the notion of a number of crises in his life astrologically, and these periods happened to coincide with such critical periods of his life as about the time of the battle of Raichūr, the time when his son Prince Tirumala died, and even one or two occasions of his own illness, would indicate that he took his duties seriously, and, like a pious man, threw the burden of his responsibilities at least partly upon God. Hence the particular purpose of his visits to Tirupati and his peculiar devotion to God Venkaṭēśa, though normally he seems to have been a man of piety who realised his duty to God and *dharma*. Notwithstanding the troubles which afflicted him in the later years of his life, his period of reign, on the whole, must be regarded as a success from the point of view of the emperor, and he could leave the world with the consoling thought that all was well with the empire, for which he laboured so hard, and let his younger brother, Achyuta succeed to the throne, notwithstanding popular accounts to the contrary.

CHAPTER VIII.

TIRUPATI DURING ACHYUTARAYA'S REIGN.

Achyuta, or in full style Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya, was a half brother of Krishṇa. The father Narasā Nāyaka is said to have married three wives, Tippāji, Nāgalādēvi and Ōbāmbā. Vīra Narasimha was the son of the first, Krishṇa of the second and Achyutarāya and Ranga of the third. It is doubtful whether Achyuta or Ranga was really the elder of the two. But it looks as though Ranga died comparatively early and passes out of view except for his children, among them the next succeeding ruler Sadāśiva. It is generally said that Krishṇadēvarāya on his accession ordered Achyuta, the young son of Vīra Narasimha and other members of the royal family, at least those near enough to put forward a claim to the throne, to be immured in the fortress of Chandragiri. While it may be fact that these were sent forward to Chandragiri to be beyond reach of the possible intrigues of the capital, it seems open to doubt whether we should on this account regard Krishṇa as having actually put them into prison. This seems the more unlikely as we find Achyuta entrusted with the administration during Krishṇa's reign,

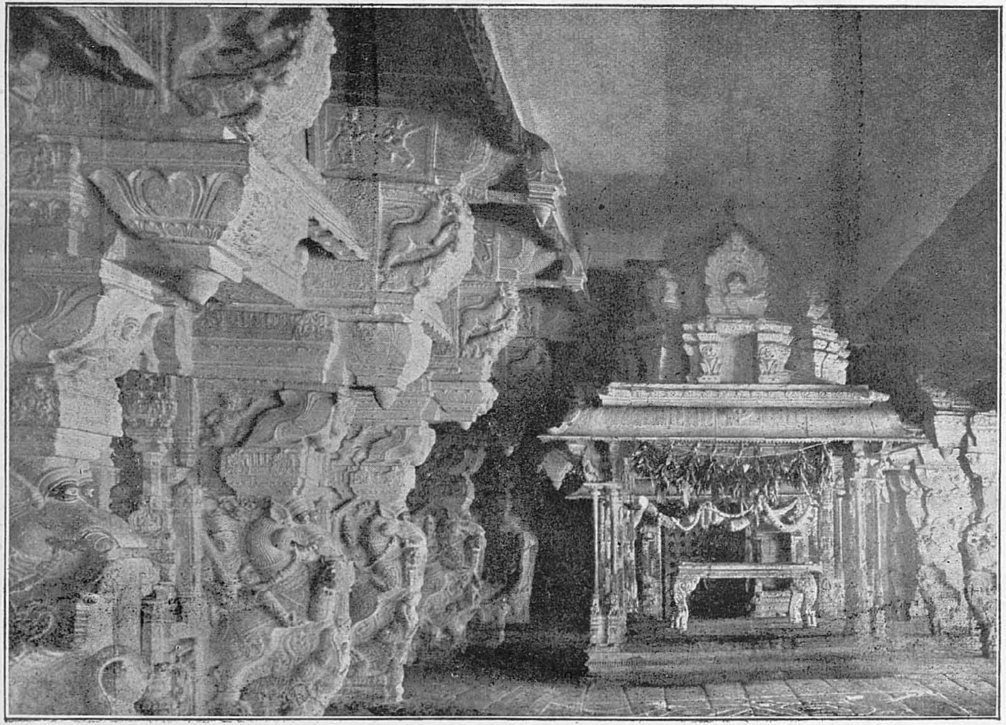
as we shall see presently. We noticed above that Krishṇa had an anxious time of it during the last decade of his rule. The war against the Muhammadans, generally described as the battle of Raichūr from the chief event although it seems to be known in Hindu authorities by other names, was really a critical period in his history even astrologically, apart from the serious character of the war in which he actually was engaged personally. Then followed periods of illness, the death of his only son and the consequent upsetting, mental and perhaps even physical, which seem to have created a certain amount of confusion. As early as A.D. 1524 we have records of the young prince Tirumala governing a province in the Mysore country. He seems already designated heir-apparent and was entrusted with the government of, it may be a province or division, governing by deputy as it usually was the case in similar circumstances. That son died early in A.D. 1525. Soon after records in the name of Achyuta begin to appear. Achyuta seems to have been carrying on the administration for his brother during a period of, it may be illness, or perhaps absence. Whatever it was, during the last five years of Krishṇa's administration Achyuta was associated with him. Another person who comes into view about this critical period is Rāmarāja already spoken of

as the son-in-law. Whether he was actually Krishṇa's son-in-law or not, we find him associated with the administration in A.D. 1525. The character given to him, however by a contemporary literary work seems to show him already as a bad man. He is described as the son-in-law, Rāmarāya, governing the land, much given to the vice of sexual indulgence and games at dice. He is spoken of as doing daily that which was unpleasing to *Brahmans* and *Gurus*.* The last part of this statement is reminiscent of an old tag in the Tamil classics where a good feature of character in a man in power is described as one that refrains from doing anything that would cause pain to a Brahman. The coming of Aḷiya Rāmarāja to power along with Achyuta coincided with the fall of the great minister, Sāḷuva Timma from power, all apparently the result of the death of the prince Tirumala. In the years following, we do not hear quite so much of Rāmarāja, although inscriptions are found here and there referring to him in authority. It seems the administration

---

* जामाता भून्महीपालः रामराय इति स्मृतः
स कामवशमापन्नः नित्यं ह्येते च निष्ठितः
ब्राह्मणानां गुरूणां च नित्यमप्रियमातनोत्.

Mahisura Narapati Vijayam,
Mysore Archaeological Report for 1907.



KALYANA MANTAPA

(To face page 202)

was actually carried on by Achyutarāya, even when Krishṇa was actually exercising authority.

THE CORONATION OF ACHYUTA AND TIRUPATI. The actual coronation however of Achyuta seems to have taken place in A.D. 1529. There are records to indicate that the coronation took place once in Tirupati, the earliest; the next at Kāḷahasti, and the next formal one at Vijayanagar, all within a period of about a month, October-November of the year. This is from the evidence of the inscriptions and must have taken place while Krishṇa was yet alive. This seems in a way to be confirmed by statements in the *Vyāsayōgicharitam** that Krishṇa actually crowned his younger brother and placed him upon the throne, and prepared himself for death by appealing to Śrī Vyāsarāya. So Achyuta

---

* त्वंगत्त रंगावलिघोषिताशैरं भोभिराच्छादितसार्वभौ (मः) ।
यस्याभ्रनिष्यंदिसमान भासः करा इवाभाति चतुस्समुद्रः ॥

तत्रान्तरे स खलु कृष्णनृपोनुजस्य नाम्नाच्युतस्य नलभोजपराक्रमस्य ।
हस्ते मही भरणशासन लक्षण (स्य) मस्ते मणिस्तबकितं मकुटन्यधत्त ॥

तस्मिन्जलनिधिवेलावार्धिं वसुमतीवलयं लीलया छत्रयति सति केयुरस्य निरपाय चतुरुपाये श्रीमदच्युतदेवराये.

कृष्ण भूपतिरायुषोऽवधौ व्यासतापसमर्णिस सूक्ष्मधीः
स्वर्गमार्गं सुखसंप्रवृत्तये चेटिकामिव जिघृक्षुरागमत् ॥

(*pp.* 76-77, *Vyāsayōgicharitam*).

came to the throne with the countenance of his brother in A.D. 1529, Krishṇa dying perhaps more than a year later. The actual time of his accession to the throne again happened to be a critical period in the history of Vijayanagar. One of the trusted officers of Krishṇa, an officer of great ability and in high favour with the monarch, set up in revolt from his government in the central region of the empire; and, when hard pressed, escaped into the Tiruvaḍi country (Travancore) and had to be brought to submission. Perhaps that was the reason which made Krishṇa crown Achyutadēvarāya and proceed on the campaign. Almost about the same time, another powerful viceroy of his, the trusted officer Nāgamanāyaka of his father Narasā, seemed to have showed himself to adopt a policy of his own as against the local rulers, the Pāṇḍya and Chōḻa in particular. These were undoubtedly serious inroads into the authority of the headquarters. The first, Sāḷuva Nāyaka, was turned out and perhaps the rebellion was put an end to so far as the imperial territory was concerned. Nāgamanāyaka's son, Visvanātha Nāyaka volunteered to lead an expedition against his father and satisfactorily arranged matters by bringing the father to court and ultimately to an understanding as the result of the old officer's submission. It still remained to bring the

escaped rebel to reason as well as the Tiruvaḍi ruler who gave him asylum. That was the first act of Achyuta's reign. But he seems to have remained at headquarters during the first year, and perhaps more, till Krishṇadēvarāya actually passed away. Having regard to the fact that practically during the whole reign of Krishṇa, Achyuta remained in Chandragiri, it may be under surveillance, with sufficient freedom to visit Tirupati and get into something like an attachment to the temple, such as Krishṇa himself had developed in the course of his life, Achyuta's devotion to Tirupati does not appear to be anything less than that of Krishṇa. Though his visits are not quite as many, his donation to Tirupati does not appear to be the less magnificent, and mementoes of his good will to the shrine are available in number.

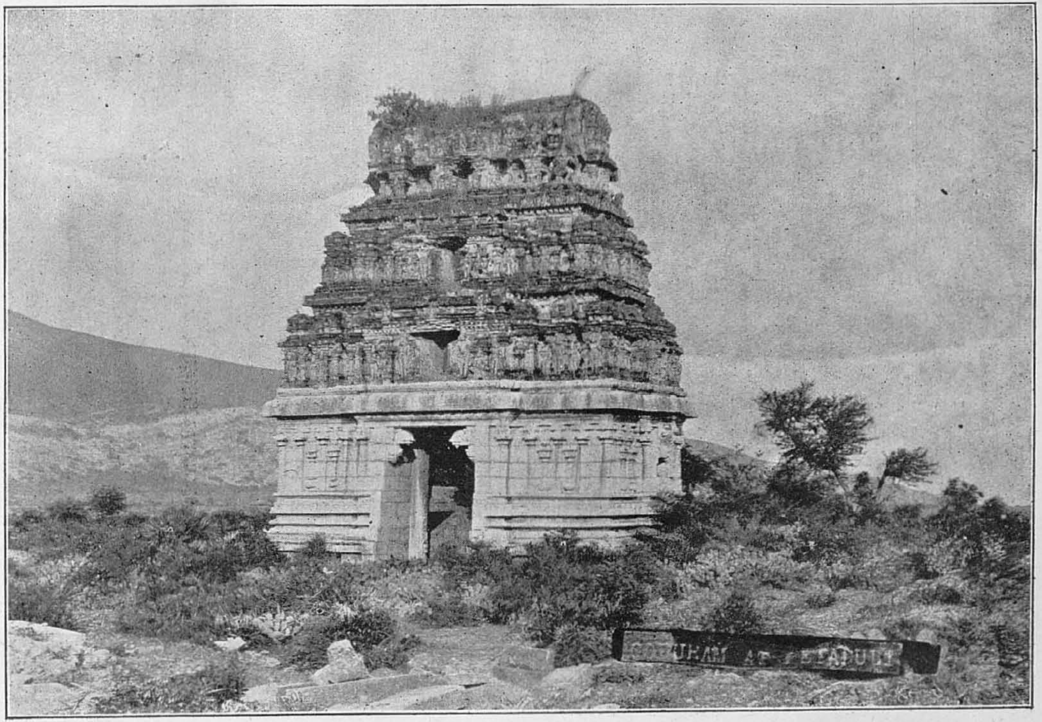
ACHYUTA'S VISITS TO TIRUPATI. He is said to have paid three separate visits to the temple. The first one was in January A.D. 1533. On this occasion he visited the temple with his wife, Varadāji Amman, and his son, prince Kumāra Venkaṭa. Achyuta himself offered worship while the temple priest recited the thousand names of Śrīnivāsa (*Srīnivāsa Sahasranāma*), and a number of costly jewels and ornaments, as also some presents in the names of his wife and son. This visit follows

closely upon his invasion of the Tiruvaḍi country, which is described in circumstantial detail in the *Achyutarāyā-Abhyudayam* of Śrī Rājanātha. Achyuta actually went on this expedition only as far as Śrīrangam, where he was asked to stay, his brother-in-law Salakam Timmarāju, volunteering service to conduct the invasion further and bring the rebels to book. He did that with success, and brought both the Tiruvaḍi ruler and the rebel Timma who rendered submission to Achyuta. After that he paid the visit to Tirupati.

Achyuta's second visit to Tirupati seems to be on record in two of his inscriptions, Nos. 54 and 58 of Volume 4 of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions dated A. D. 23-12-1533. He instituted on this occasion a new festival called Lakshmīdēvi *Mahōtsava* to be celebrated for five days for Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān and Alaṛmēlmangai Nāchchiyār. He also instituted another annual festival for Śrī Rāma on the days of the Punarvasu *nakshatra* during the thirteen days of the year of that *nakshatra*. Towards the expenses of these festivals, he granted the revenues to the temple of *Uttarāyam* of 300 *rēkai pon* and sixty *rēkai pon* respectively from the two villages situated in the Koṇḍavīḍu *Sīrmai*. In return for these the temple treasury was to supply all the articles necessary. The term *Uttarāyam* here seems to be used in the

sense of royal revenues or revenues paid to the state over and above such local revenues and taxes that may be levied and collected by the local authorities. The Lakshmīdēvi festival was intended to be begun on the day of Uttaraṭṭādi and brought to a close on the following day of Rōhiṇi. This record No. 54 mentions seven separate pavilions (*maṇṭapam*) where the God is to be taken on certain festival days and food-service offered. These are two each in the names of Achyuta, his queen Varadāmba, and one in the name of Kumāra Chikka Venkaṭādri, one in the name of Narasā Nāyakar, and one in the name of Ōbāchi Amman. The last two were the father and mother of the King. There is a distinction made in the character of the pavilions; but ordinarily pavilions are built either in gardens or in streets. Another variety, called *Angaṇa Maṇṭapam*, would mean a *maṇṭapa* forming the centre surrounded by houses and streets. There is also a reference to a tank in the name of Achyutarāya, *Achyutarāyakōnēri* round which he laid out a town called Achyutarāyapuram installing in it Achyutarāya Perumāḷ in a shrine and constructing a charity house (*Chaṭram*), in his own name, providing food supply for it by instituting a service in the temple. Similar memorials are found elsewhere also in the empire. It does not appear that Achyutarāya was accompanied by

his queen and the prince on this occasion. But there are references to a number of donations by his officers very soon after from which an inference is possible that they accompanied him. The principal ones referred to are Rāma Bhaṭṭar Ayyan, Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dīkshitar, Malaiyappa Ayyar, and two ladies holding the office *Aḍaippam* (betel box), Rukmini Amman and Padmada Amman. He appears to have paid a third visit to Tirumalai from certain gifts made by his officers almost simultaneously. These grants by the officers were all dated Ś. 1458 equivalent to A. D. 12–1–1537. There is also an inscription by an officer whose name is gone, who granted the village of Mallāpuram at the suggestion of Achyutarāya himself for services on the seventh day of *Tirukkoḍi Tirunāḷ* at Tirumalai. The donor's share of the food-service according to this was to be made over to a certain Appayyan, whom the Dēvastānam report takes to be Nādiṇḍla Appa, an officer of Krishṇadēvarāya and a nephew of the great minister Sāḷuva Timma, inferring as a result of this identification that the donor-officer probably was Sāḷuva Timma himself. Apart from these visits, he made other donations to the temple. One of them the earliest on record is of date Ś. 1453 (25–6–1531) put on record in three languages, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil. The



RUINED GOPURA OF ACHYUTARAYAPURAM, TIRUPATI

(To face page 209)

tank, *Kapilatīrtham* in Lower Tirupati was provided with stone steps all round with *Sandyāvandana maṇṭapas* on the eastern and western sides, marking the boundary with stones marked with Vishṇu's discus. He renamed it *Chakratīrtha* in order that he might thereby gain the four ends of human life, *Dharma* (righteousness), *Artha* (wealth), *Kāma* (wishes), and *Mōksha* (salvation). The next piece of his service is the building of a temple to Achyuta Perumāḷ in the temple village of Kōṭṭūr. He established an *agrahāra* of 120 houses, which he got built round the temple, buying the land for 2,400 *paṇam* paid into the temple treasury. To meet the expenses of its daily worship, he made a grant of the village called Parittiputtūr dividing it into twenty shares. On a date corresponding to A.D. 8–2–1539, he presented 100 out of the 120 houses to Brahmans reserving twenty for the temple for the residence of the priests maintaining themselves from the twenty shares of the village of Parittiputtūr. This new *agrahāram* was in the northern suburb of Lower Tirupati where perhaps the ruins of the village could be traced even now. The *agrahāram* must have been constructed by Ś. 1538 (31–1–1537) when there is a reference to this temple and a service in connection therewith. There is also a charity house under reference in

another inscription. Another peculiar service of Achyuta to the temple is the provision that he made for maintaining two dancing girls for service by sending two such all the way from Vijayanagar. One of them is named Kuppāyi and described as the granddaughter of a Śrī Rangarāya, who had the title *Vidvatsabhā Rāya Ranjakam* which would mean that this person was a music and dancing master, whose proficiency was appreciated by the assembly of the learned as well as the king, thereby indicating that perhaps the woman was an expert in the art, and was sent over as such. The other one is called Hanumasāni, the termination *Sāni* which was generally an honorific term meaning what the English word lady does now-a-days. It has now become generally applied to dancing girls, who are called *Nāyakāsānis* in Kanarese, perhaps indicating their association with the subordinate courts under Vijayanagar rule. She is described as the daughter of Uṭṭida Timmaiyan in Tamil. The first part of the word *Uṭṭida* is probably a Tamil version of the Kanarese *huṭṭida* which seems to indicate that he was one of those palace servants who was born in the servants' quarters of the palace. These are described as *Emberumān Aḍiyār*, God's servants, intended to render service of various kinds in the temple.

The queen who is generally called in these inscriptions Varadājidēvi Amman, known to literature as Varadāmbikā, provided for a certain number of services in the temple. She provided for a food-service to God to follow similar services already instituted in the name of Achyuta and Krishṇa. She set apart the revenues from six villages for meeting the expense of the service instituted by her. Two of the villages were in the Gaṇḍikōṭṭa *Śīrmai* and three villages from the Koṇḍavīḍu *Śīrmai*, and one from Nārāyaṇapuram. She made provision for another large number of services in the Gōvindarāja shrine; but the grant is too far gone to make anything out of it. The prince Kumāra Venkaṭādri is associated with some of these grants made by the father. There is no record of any independent grant of his. A number of officers are recorded to have made grants for the merit of Achyutarāya Mahārāya. The first one is Salakarāju Śiṛu Tirumalarāju. This is the younger of the two brothers of the queen, by name Tirumalarāju. He purchased a piece of land in the west street of the hill town and laid out an *Angaṇa Tiruvīdhi* for the merit of his sister in Ś. 1463 (21st December 1541). There is a Singarāju, son of Salakarāju, probably another brother, who instituted certain offerings in Ś. 1458 (12th January 1537), which provide

that the donor's share of the service was to be made over to the *Āchārya* of his own sister. probably the queen. Another officer who distinguished himself by such a service is a Śrī Ranga Nāyakar, son of a Tuḷuva Vengaḷu Nāyakar of Paḍaivīḍu. He made a deposit and arranged for a service in Ś. 1458 (14th December 1536) for the merit of Svāmi Achyutarāya Mahārāya, Varadāji Amman Avargaḷ, Chikka Venkaṭādri Uḍaiyār. Another officer by name Śiṛu Timmaiyar, son of Bhanḍāram Apparasan made provision in Ś. 1456 (23rd August 1534), for the coating over of the image of the God with civet on the thirteen days of the *Mṛgaśīrsha* asterism, the birth star of the King. Numbers of other officers have provided for services, but without any specific reference to the royal family. We shall take them up in order as before.

CHAPTER IX.

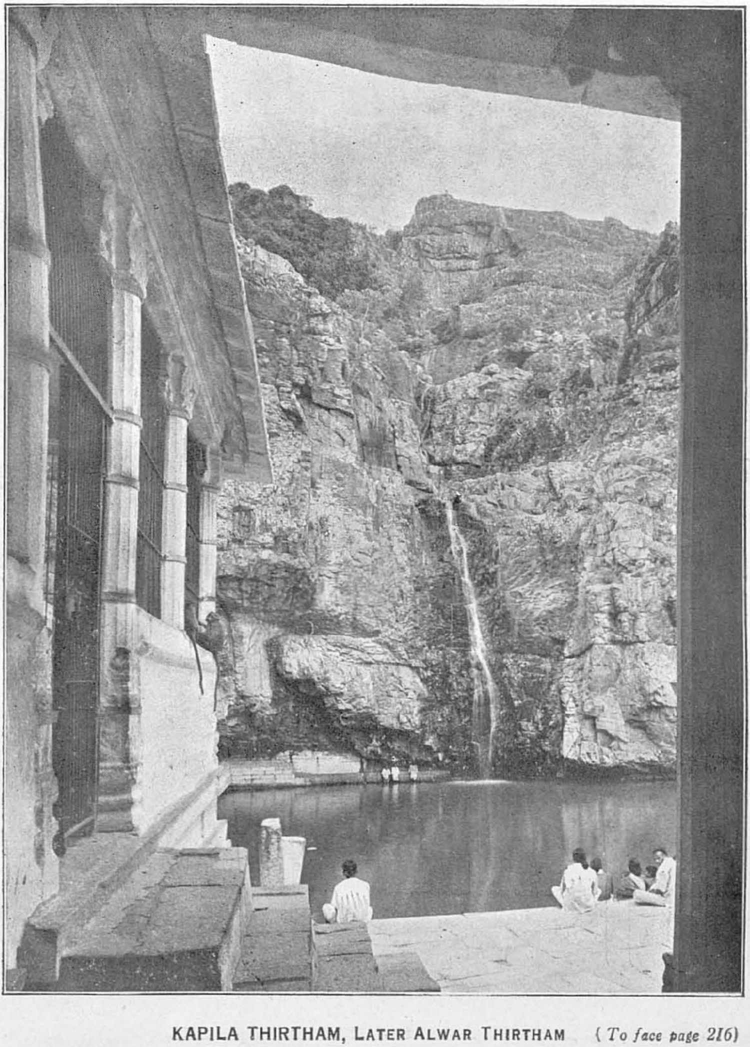
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF ACHYUTARAYA.

Although Achyutarāya's reign is about half the length of Krishṇadēvarāya's, the number of records belonging to it is far larger and consists of the same class of inscriptions, records of the king and his family, records by officials and others associated with the king in various capacities and purely private inscriptions. Several of these last also state it that the benefactions were made for the spiritual merit of the king or the prince. Of these grants, the grants by the king or the queen are generally gifts of villages or assignments of revenue; while in the case of the other grants, some of them do happen to be grants of villages; most of them however are money deposits for particular services, single or a series, throughout the year. In all cases of these money grants, the condition that the money should be applied for the improvement of temple lands or temple villages by improvement of irrigation resources or otherwise, and that it is only the income, the annual income, that should be utilised for the purpose of the various services, is prescribed. It is therefore only such matters as call for remark other than these general

characteristics that would be mentioned in the following summary of the inscriptions. Inscription No. 1 of this Volume, Volume IV of the Dēvastānam inscriptions, refers itself to the reign of Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya and for his spiritual merit. It is dated without the Śāka year in the year *Virōdhi* (14th January 1530). It was a donation by Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar, the superintendent of *Rāmānujakūṭams* or charity houses at Tirumalai and Tirupati, as also of the temple treasury, thereby showing that he was the successor of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar in this office. He was probably the latter's son ; but another member of the Kandāḍai family comes between him and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar. This Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar constructed a wooden car for Śri Raghunātha in the Rāmasvāmi shrine in Lower Tirupati. This record shows that, on the 14th January 1530, Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya was already ruling. An inscription in Kānchi refers to his coronation on a date corresponding to 21st October 1529, and there is a reference in certain Conjivaram inscriptions to a coronation in Vijayanagar on a day corresponding to the 20th November 1529. It however appears that his first coronation was in Tirupati, where he is supposed to have been anointed to the rule of the kingdom by his having bathed in the water poured out of the conch in the hand of

God Śrī Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati. This circumstantial detail is stated in the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, (canto III, verse 33). This would seem to lend support to the statement referred to in the *Vyāsoyōgi Charitam* that Krishṇa himself anointed Achyuta, and appointed him to rule while yet he was alive. Probably the ceremony in Tirupati has reference to that, and must therefore have been earlier than the other two coronations referred to, although they may all of them have constituted one series. The next record is No. 3 from Tirupati and refers to the same donor as the one above. This record makes provision for services of a large number of festivals throughout the year, for which he paid into the treasury 8,779 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for an annual income. There is a reference to a festival instituted by Achyutarāya, and another one to a *maṇṭapa* built by himself in front of the *Rāmānujakūṭa* in Lower Tirupati. The fourth of the *prasāda* due to the donor should be made over in this case to the *Dharmakarta* of the *Rāmānujakūṭas* on the hill and in Lower Tirupati. Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar seems to have been followed by a Kandāḍai Mādhava Aiyangar, a disciple of his and perhaps also a relation, and he in turn was followed by this Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar. The next record worth noting is No. 5 of Ś. 1452 (8th July 1530). This refers to a

benefaction by a dancing girl, Gōvindasāni for a service to Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati, who was to be brought over to a pavilion built by her on the bank of the *Gōvinda Pushkaraṇi* on the day of the *Māśi Makham* a date in February—March. She paid 300 *paṇam* into the treasury for this service. The next document is No. 6 of Ś. 1452 (31st October 1530). This is an agreement with Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar, son of Annamaiyangar, the songster of the temple by special appointment. This refers to the making over of four villages in different localities for the purpose of a number of services in the year. There is a reference in this to the festival instituted by Achyutarāya and to a *Sankīrtana Bhaṇḍāra* or treasury containing the *sankīrtanas* or songs composed by this poet. The copper plates containing these are kept in a room even now in careful custody, and, among the days for services mentioned, happens to be the birthday of Achyutarāya in the asterism *Mṛgaśīrsham.* Documents 8, 9 and 10 refer to the transformation of the *Kapilatīrtha* into *Chakratīrtha* by Achyutarāya in A. D. 1531, as was already stated. No. 11 of Ś. 1453 (6th June 1531) is a document which conveys the interesting information that Achyuta sent two dancing girls from Vijayanagara for service in the temple. One of them Kuppāsāni was the daughter of Uddukuppāyi,



KAPILA THIRTHAM, LATER ALWAR THIRTHAM (*To face page 216*)

who had the title *Vidvatshabhā Rāya Ranjakam*. She must have been an artist of high quality. Provision was made for her maintenance in the Gōvindarāja shrine. The document actually has reference to her being entitled to one unit of food-service daily to be made over to her and to her children for all time. The next document worth noting is No. 13 of Ś. 1453 (14th March 1532). This document is executed in favour of a Tammappa, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasa, which would mean Apparasa of the treasury office. He deposited 3,000 *paṇam* for a certain number of services. This amount was to be applied for purchasing a certain number of pieces of land from various persons to whom Krishṇadēvarāya made these over as charitable gifts. They are described to be under the irrigation of Mādhavan channel. The next one is No. 14 of Ś. 1454 (27th March 1532). This is again a document in favour of the Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. For certain services that he instituted, he made over a number of villages granted to him by Achyutarāya the revenues of which amounted to 1,000 *rēkai pon*. One interesting detail given in this is that he received the donor's share of the produce, and he was to be supplied with one pair of the sacred thread and a portion of the civet used for coating over the image of the God on the occasion of his

sankīrtana (singing). No. 20 is dated Ś. 1454, and states that Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar was discoursing sweet music for the pleasure of Śrī Venkaṭeśa. He renovated the *Achyutarāya Kōnēri* (tank), and erected a new *maṇṭapa* in the middle of it. He also erected the enclosing walls for the Achyutarāyasvāmi temple on its bank. This renovation work seems to have been done for the merit of his father. The record, however, is imperfect. No. 21 of Ś. 1555 (9th July 1533) is an agreement with two dancing girls, Lingāsāni and Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam, daughter of Emberumān Aḍiyāl Tippāsāni. It refers to a service in the pavilion in their own garden on certain festival days, for which a deposit of 330 *paṇam* was made to be applied as usual for the expenses of these services. The next one of importance is No. 23 of Ś. 1455 (1st July 1533). This is an agreement with one Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dīkshitar, an officer of the secretariat obviously. He belonged to the village Agaram Kaḍalāḍi, otherwise named Kumāra-Venkaṭādrisamudram. He is said to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* on the bank of the tank of Achyutarāya. He presented the village Tāmarapākkam in the Erumiha *Śīrmai* yielding a revenue of 200 *paṇam* for a certain number of services that he instituted. The donor's portion of the food was to be received by himself. The next one is by the

same person for certain services in the same *maṇṭapa* on his birthday asterisms, for which he paid 5,000 *paṇam* to be applied for agricultural improvements, from the revenues of which the expenses of the services were to be met. No. 25 is of date Ś. 1455 (21st August 1533), and relates to a benefaction by *Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara* Timmarāja Salakarāja. This refers to a pavilion for a water-shed which he built on the smaller rise (*śiṟṟēṟṟam*) in the steps going up the hill, for which he deposited 600 *paṇam*. The part of the document subsequent to this is gone. The way that the person is named, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timmarāja Salakarāja, seems to indicate the person who was the father-in-law of Achyutarāya. The next one is of the same Śāka year (6th October 1533). This is a donation by a certain Ellappa Piḷḷai of Tiruvakkarai, the son of a Gōpāla Śeṭṭi, who is given the titles here *Kacchirāyakkōnār*, *Piravikku Nallār* and *Antakālam Tīrta*. These seem to mean that he had the titles, the chief shepherd of Kacchirāya, one who was good to all creation, and one who had got rid of *antyakālam*, the last days, whatever that meant. This donor had a garden and a pavilion of his own. Among the provisions made happen to be one for the maintenance of the man who looked after the garden, and another one who was in charge of the pavilion. He bought

a certain piece of land from a Brahman for 2,500 *paṇam*. The land was 4,000 *kuḻi* under the Avilāli tank, the village itself being a temple village. The amount was to be used for a canal from the tank, the income from which was to be made use of for the expenses of the services. No. 27 of Ś. 1455 (11th November 1533) is a donation by one Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi of the Nagarattār community in Tirupati. He was the son of one Nāgu Śeṭṭi of the Neḍumkumāra *gōtram*. Among the number of services that he instituted, one relates to a service in front of the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa *Maṭham*; another one relates to one Śīyan, son of the Āchārya Purusha Appa Tōḻappar of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra*, and Yajus Śākha. It relates to a deposit of 21,430 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. No. 30 of Ś. 1456 (17th June 1534) is an agreement with one Trivēdi Mahādēva Sōmayāji, son of Revaṇūr Lingam Bhaṭṭa, for which he made over land, which he got from a Rāma Bhaṭṭar in the village called Vaḻittiraṭṭu in the Viḻuppuram *Śīrmai* and Trivadi Rājyam worth 250 *rēkai pon*. No. 31 of the same Śāka year (3rd July 1534) is an agreement with Salakarāja Periya Tirumaladēvarāja's wife, Periya Kommamman. She is said to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* in the flower garden called *Varada Nārāyaṇan* as a service to her Āchārya Kōvil Kanḍāḍai Aṇṇan. She provided

for a number of services, among them one in the name of the said Āchārya, for all of which she paid 1300 *paṇam* into the temple treasury to be applied as usual. She made arrangements for the distribution of the donor's share of the food, some of the details of which are gone. No. 32 of the same Śāka year (20th July 1534) is an agreement with a certain Bācharasayya, son of Śrī Rāmayyan of Pādirikkuppam. This was provision for the merit of Chikka Venkaṭādri, the prince. No. 35 of Ś. 1456 (16th August 1534) is an agreement with Karaṇīka Basavarasa Aiyan, son of Ōbaladēva. It refers to a deposit of 3,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a daily service to God. Among those receiving the donor's share of the produce happen to be those cultivating his garden. No. 36 of Śāka year 1456 (23rd August 1534) is an agreement with Śiṛu Timmayya, son of Bhaṇḍāram Apparasa. It relates to a deposit of 4,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services, which included the weekly application of the civet on the fifty-three Fridays of the year, and on the thirteen birthday asterisms of Achyutarāya. There is nothing else of interest in it otherwise, The next one No. 38 of Śāka 1457 (13th April 1535) is an agreement with Ūḷiyam Ellappanāyaka, son of Sāṭṭaiyappa Nāyaka, personal servant of Achyutarāya. He made provision

for services on the days when the God was taken to his own garden, and the garden maintained by the *Sabhā* of the place. The deposit was of 600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. Nos. 40 and 41 come from Tirupati and are of Śāka date 1457 (17th May 1535). No. 40 is in poetical Tamil, of which the next following one seems to be more or less a Telugu Translation in verse. It refers to the Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar and his sons reciting songs before God, so that everybody on this earth might attain to salvation. He renovated the steps of the big tank, built a *maṇṭapa* in the middle of the tank, *maṇṭapas* on the sides, and provided the Varāha shrine with a compound wall and *maṇṭapas* within. He is also said to have provided the east *gōpura* of the temple. This Tirumalai Aiyangar seems to have possessed extraordinary talent in languages, and his high erudition in eight languages has become proverbial and is in evidence in the works that have survived. We pass on to No. 46 of Ś. 1457 (7th July 1535). It refers to an agreement with a Vaḍavēngaḍa Jīyar, superintendent of the *Pankayacchelvi* garden. It makes provision for services on the birthday asterisms of himself, of his *Guru*, Tiruvāymoḻi Tirumalai Nāyanār, and another one he refers to as Parānkuśa Jīyar. It is a matter for doubt whether the last refers to the Ahōbalam Jīyar of that name; but there is

nothing in the record to indicate the identity. Further down in the course of the document there is a reference to his Paramāchārya (*Guru par excellence*) Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar. It refers to a deposit of 285 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The next one is No. 49 from the Gōvindarāja shrine of Ś. 1457 (13th July 1535). This is an agreement with the two dancing girls already referred to once before, Lingāsāni and Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam. It refers to a deposit of 230 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for services during the return of Gōvindarāja after distributing holy water from the *Āḻvār Tīrtham* and on other occasions. We pass on to No. 59 from there of Ś. 1457 (26th December 1535). This is an agreement with Rāyasam Rāmachandra Dīkshitar already referred to, as perhaps an officer of the Secretariat of Achyutarāya. Among the services provided for, there is reference to a garden of his own and a pavilion within it. He made a deposit of 5,000 *paṇam* which together with a deposit of 150 by Bhaṭṭarpirān Aiyan, and another 300 by Koṇḍaiyyan were to be applied as usual for the improvement of temple lands. The donor's share of the *prasādam* was to be received by himself alone, and these services were recorded as intended for the merit of his mother Nāgamma. The next is No. 61 of the same date and is an agreement with Rāma Bhaṭṭar, son of

Chandragiri Bhūtanātha Śittar Bhaṭṭar. He is also said to have had a garden and a pavilion on the hill. He is also stated to have constructed the *Agrahāra*, Tiruvēngaḍapuram, to which Raghunātha, that is, Rāma, was to be taken daily. The amount deposited was 1,000 *paṇam* with other sums in addition yielding ultimately a revenue of 365 *paṇam* to the temple, for a certain number of food-services. The next is No. 64 of Ś. 1457 (8th January 1536). This is a donation by Basavarasa, son of Chaṇḍigai Ōbaḷadēva. He is said to have had a *maṇṭapa* of his own in front of the main *gōpura* of the temple. He made a deposit of 200 *paṇam* for this service. The next is No. 66 of date Ś. 1457 (17th February 1536). This is again a benefaction by the wife of Periya Tirumalarāja. The name is here given as Tadukōnamman, probably a different person from the one already mentioned. This refers to a deposit of 150 *varāha* in the temple treasury to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to her Āchārya, Śrīrangam Kandāḍai Appan. The next two documents of importance are Nos. 72 and 74 of Ś. 1457 (26th February 1536), both of them referring to Sāḷuva Timma. It is almost certain that it refers to the great minister of Krishṇadēvarāya, as No. 72 actually mentions his brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja. The document itself is stated to be a sale-deed

of the *prasāda*, the quarter share of the food offered to God given to the donor. The first refers to the sale regarding a service instituted by Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, which he sold away for 4,600 *paṇam* in lieu of which Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar was to enjoy in perpetuity the donor's share of the *prasāda*. Similarly No. 74 relates to a service instituted jointly by Timma and his brother Gōvindarāja. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was sold for 5,203 *paṇam*. This again is an absolute sale of all that appertained to the donor's share. In regard to these two documents and the transactions recorded therein, the following points require to be noted. Sāḷuva Timma was a much respected and greatly honoured chief minister of Krishṇadēvarāya. His brother Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja was equally trusted, but more as a military man. He seems to have held positions of the highest trust and led the van in the invasions against Bijapur ending in the battle of Raichūr. The information available hitherto was that at any rate Timma was overthrown from his position and was punished badly. His son set up in rebellion in consequence against Krishṇadēvarāya, and stood a siege in the fortress of Rāmadrug. What had happened to him afterwards was not known. These documents make it clear that he was alive and still occupied a

position in the court of Achyuta. But that he and his brother should be in a condition to sell away the donor's share of the food for substantial sums of money makes one doubt whether the brothers held the same or similar positions of importance under Achyuta as they held under Krishṇa. It seems however that we cannot deny that they still occupied positions of some considerable importance at court. The next documents calling for attention are Nos. 77 and 78 of Ś. 1458 (15th December 1536). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Peruṁgoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan, son of Lēpākshi Nandi Lakki Śeṭṭi. He made a deposit of 200 *paṇam* and assigned a revenue of 120 *paṇam* from a village in the Ganḍikōṭṭai *Śīrmai* for a certain number of services to the temple. In the distribution of the produce figure the Venkaṭa Jīyar, who looked after his garden and received one share; an outsider resident Pēraruḷāḷa Ayyan, received half a share, and the Jīyar superintending the big temple (on the hill) half; another Brahman half and the temple accountant half. No. 78 is a donation by the same person of a gold cup weighing 330 units of superior quality of gold (ten *māttu*, $10\frac{1}{2}$ being regarded the best quality), and valued at 5,000 *pon*. This is said to have been presented at the gate of Achyutarāya, and the previous benefaction was also for the merit of

Achyutadēvarāya. This person seems to have been an officer of influence under Achyuta, and has to his credit the building of a temple at Nārāyaṇavaram for the merit of the prince. The next one No. 79 is of Ś. 1458 (15th December 1536). This is a grant made by one Śrī Ranga Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Vengaḷu Nāyaka of Paḍaivīḍu of the fourth *gōtra*, meaning that they belonged to the *śūdra* caste. It refers to a number of services during the year for which he deposited 650 *paṇam* on the usual conditions for the merit of the king, the queen and the prince. There is reference in respect of these services to a pavilion in his own garden, and the gardens of Rāma Bhaṭṭar, and Rāmachandra Dīkshitar as well. The next one of importance is No. 81 of Ś. 1458 (12th January 1537). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Aḍaippam Nāgama Nāyakar. It refers specifically to a *maṇṭapa* built by him on the banks of the *Achyutarāya Kōnēri*. He deposited 15,000 *paṇam* on the usual conditions, and provided for a large number of food-services. The donor's share of the produce, was to be made over to a Vaishṇava Brahman, Appayyan, son of Uttama Mādhavan, who kept the flower garden of Viśvanātha Nāyaka, and kept the *maṇṭapa* in good repairs. The six following records are all of them of the same

date and are benefactions of a similar character by other officers. No. 82 is a donation by a Krishṇappa Nāyaka, son of Chinnappa Nāyaka. He deposited the same amount and is credited with a similar pavilion on the *Achyutarāya Kōnēri*, and that the donor's share of the produce was to be received by a certain Nāyanār, son of Pēraruḷāḷa Nāyanār Appai. No. 83 is by a certain Bācharasa, son of Pādirikkuppam Śrī Rāma Aiyangar. There is a reference to his own *maṇṭapa* on the banks of the same *kōnēri* and the deposit is of the same amount. The donor's share of the produce was to be received by himself alone. No. 84 is by a Rāma Bhaṭṭar Ayyan, son of Chandragiri Bhūtanātha Śittar Bhaṭṭar. The other conditions are similar to the above including the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda*. No. 86 is a similar benefaction by one Ellappa Oḍaiyār, son of Timmaṇṇa Oḍaiyār of Vankāpuram. The donor's share of the produce offered in this case was to be made over to one Nārāyaṇa of Chandragiri, who was to maintain the garden and the *maṇṭapa* in good repairs. No. 88 is a similar donation again by Śingarāja, son of Śalakarāja. The deposit is of the same amount, and he had a *maṇṭapa* on the same *kōnēri* bank, and the donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be made over to the Āchārya of his sister. This apparently refers to the queen,

and this Śingarāja seems to be the third son of Salakarāju, the father of the queen. We had hitherto known of the two sons of his, both of them known by the name Timmarāju, the elder and the younger, and this one is apparently a third son. No. 89 is of interest, as it seems to refer to a renewal of an old document under orders of Achyutarāya. It is gone in parts, and does not make the purport of it clear. The Dēvastānam editor suggests Sāḷuva Timma, as the donor. There is nothing in the document to lead to that exactly. No. 92 of Ś. 1458 (17th January 1537) refers to a deposit of 1,230 *paṇam* by one Nāmi Śeṭṭi, son of Satayapaḷḷi Tippu Śeṭṭi, resident of Krishṇarāya Paṭṭaṇa, apparently a part of Lower Tirupati from which the record comes. The record states that he purchased land from the weavers measured by the rod of 36 feet, on which he built a *maṇṭapa* to which Gōvindarāja as well as Achyutarāyapperumāḷ should be taken on certain occasions in the year. There is nothing else of interest in it. No. 93 is again of Ś. 1458 (28th December 1536). It is again an agreement between Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar and Sāḷuva Timmarasu, son of Rācharasu, thus making him unmistakably the great minister of Krishṇadēvarāya. This is again a sale-deed of the donor's share of the *prasāda* for certain services of Tirumalai Aiyangar for

1,900 *paṇam*. It is transferred to him so that he may live habitually in Tirumalai all the year round and maintain himself on this. No 94 coming again from Lower Tirupati is of Ś. 1458 (7th January 1537). It is an agreement with Rāma Bhaṭṭar, son of Bhūtanātha Śitta Bhaṭṭar. There is a reference to Vādirājapuram in Tirupati, where he had a garden of his own, in which he had installed an image of Gōpālakrishṇa. It refers to a deposit of 1,700 *paṇam* for the daily service of this God. The donor's share of the produce was to be made over to a somebody else whose name is gone. Vādirājapuram apparently has reference to the Madhva pontiff Vādirāja a contemporary and successor of Srī Vyāsayōgi, in whose name or in whose honour the town-suburb must have been built. No. 96 of Ś. 1458 (2nd February 1537) is a donation by one Tiruvēngaḍa Ayyan, a disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāla Jīyar, and an outsider-resident of Tirupati. He made a deposit of 460 *paṇam* for certain festivals in connection with the commencement of the recital of the works of Nammāḻvār, Periya Āḻvār, Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, Tirumangai Āḻvār, and Uḍaiyavar (Rāmānuja), and of some festivals in connection with Gōvindarāja in Lower Tirupati on the bund of the *Tirukkōnēri*. This was to be applied as usual, and the donor's share of the food was to

be made over for the use of the Śrī Vaishṇava new-comers in the place. Document No. 97 is very badly broken up and even the date is gone. It is apparently a benefaction by the queen Varadāji Amman. One new piece of information in this is a reference in the body of the imperfect record to a pavilion of Muttaraiyar, a dynasty which played an important part in South Indian history before the Chōḻas. But Tirupati is rather a far cry for them. The next one is No. 100 of date Ś. 1459 (25th October 1537). This is again a donation by Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. There is a reference to God being taken to a pavilion constructed by him and into the pavilion in the middle of the tank *Tirukkōnēri*. Then there is a reference to a pavilion in front of some of the houses, probably his own. For meeting these expenses, he made over the revenues from two villages and some money grant as well. The document is gone in parts to be thoroughly intelligible. Document No. 101 is of the same year, *Hēviḷambi* (22nd January 1538), and is a benefaction by Peruṁgoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan referred to already. It refers to a deposit of 6,000 *paṇam* for certain services for the merit of the emperor Achyutarāya. The next document of importance is No. 110 on the walls of the *Yamunaitturaivar Maṇṭapam* of Ś. 1460 (6th September 1538). This

is a donatiou by Aḍaippam Baiyappa Nāyakar, who claims to have constructed a pavilion on the bank of the *Achyutarāya Kōnēri.* Further down there is a reference to his own pavilion in a garden. There is nothing else of particular importance. The next is No. 112 from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This is of date, Ś. 1460 also (9th October 1538). One peculiar feature of this inscription is that the emperor is given here the old Sāḷuva titles, and titles before the Sāḷuva days, such as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Arirāya Vibhāḍa, Bhāshēge Tappuvarāyara Gaṇḍa* and *Mūvarāyara Gaṇḍa.* We have not met with these titles in these inscriptions since the Sāḷuva days. This seems to record an agreement among the weavers which prescribes the use of certain kinds of thread in a particular fashion, and the agreement is supposed to be of force in the interior parts (*Uḷmaṇḍalam*), and the exterior parts (*Puṛamaṇḍalam)* of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. One interesting point in regard to this is, it seems to include a particular mode of weaving which should be done only by Muslims and not by Hindus. Any breach of this agreement involved a fine of twelve *varāhas.* The next one is No. 115 of Ś. 1460 (24th November 1538). This is a dona tion by Venkaṭādri Ayyan, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar, who instituted this service for the merit of a somebody else, it may be to the merit

of the emperor, or his own father. The service was of twenty-four food-services of two kinds, and one big lamp burnt with ghee. For these services he made over the revenues of a particular village in the Pottappināḍu (division) yielding a revenue of 700 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by himself. The next one is No. 122 of Ś. 1460 (15th January 1539). The donor again is Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar of Tallapākkam, who instituted certain services for which he made over the revenues of a *grāma* yielding 133 *varāhas*. He bought the village in the Ganjikoṇḍa *Śīrmai* from Bukkarāja and Timmarāja. The next one No. 123 of Ś. 1460 (8th February 1539) gives the full details of the temple village Kōṭṭūr which Achyutarāya bought, built a temple to Achyutapperumāḷ and constructed an *agrahāra* of 120 houses round it. He set apart twenty out of these 120 houses, with twenty shares of the Parittiputtūr village, for the Brahmans in temple service; and the remainder he made over as a permanent gift to other Brahmans. The boundary of the village is defined. The record comes from the locality east of the *Kapila Tīrtham* in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 127 of Ś. 1460 (17th March 1539). The donor in this case is the temple accountant Periya Śōlai, son of a Samayar Gōvindarājan, and refers to a

deposit of 3,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the *prasādam* or service was to be made over to him. The next one is No. 129 of Ś. 1460 (17th March 1539). This is again by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar and refers to a deposit of 2,000 *paṇam* for a comparatively large number of services throughout the year. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* in front of the houses of the *Bhaṭṭars* (temple-priests) and a pillar that he planted on the bank of the *Tirukkōnēri*, on which a light was to be burnt every Thursday. The donor's share of the services was to be received by him. No. 130 is of date Ś. 1460 also (17 March 1539). This is a donation by one Astigirinātha, son of the elder brother of Astigiri Nāyaka of Puduppākkam. The donation was intended for the benefit of the donor's daughter Vayambūṇi. The record states that the day of *Āḍi Ayanam*, the first of Āshāḍa every year was the commencement of accounts both in Tirumalai and in Tirupati. The next one is No. 134 of Ś. 1461(7th June 1539)*and is a donation by Āḻvān Kōvil Tiruvēngaḍa Ayyan, a disciple of Appā, the superintendent of *Malaikkiniyaniṅṟān* garden.

* The name that appears in No. 134 above as *Malaikiniyaniṅṟān* has occurred several times before, both in this form and with the doubling of the *k* as well. In this form the name *Malikkiniyaniṅṟān* would be rather irregular in construction and with no clear meaning, although a meaning could be made out. It is of course the name of the deity on the hill, and should be taken to mean that His standing on the hill was to make the hill happy or pleasant. But we see

It provides for a large number of services in which there is a reference to his own Āchārya, Kandāḍai Appā, on whose birthday the service was to be rendered, and then there is a reference to the birthday of his Paramāchārya, Periya Appai. It is not clear whether this is the same as the previous one. Then there is a reference to a Daivanāyakan *Maṭha*. What *Maṭha* was so called is not made clear. The deposit was 2,300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The document ends in addition to the usual *Śri Vaishṇava Rakshai* with the expression '*Śrīmatē Rāmānujāya Namaha*', the first time we meet with a salutation like that in the course of these inscriptions. No. 136 is of Ś. 1461 (17th September 1539), and is an

immediately in the following records another form *Malaininṛān* which would be quite an intelligible name, meaning He who stood on the hill, which is distinctly the feature of the deity Venkaṭēśa on the hill. It is open to doubt whether we could regard this as an abbreviation of the previous name, as by itself it is quite intelligible and regular in construction. In the documents following, such as No. 152, the very name occurs in another form, *Malaikuniyaninṛān*. This would mean the God stood on the hill making the hill bow, which is a somewhat inappropriate term in the sense that the standing of God on the hill may make the hill come down as a whole. To describe that as bowing down would seem rather inappropriate, unless we import the notion that the hill where stands the temple of Śrī Venkatēśa is traditionally taken to be on the hood of the cobra, the whole of the Vēnkaṭāchalam Hills extending from Śrīśailam to Kāḷahasti being generally regarded as a cobra lying about coiled, Vēngaḍam constituting the bent hood on the highest part, Kāḷahasti being the mouth. On the basis of this, it is just possible to regard the name *Malaikuniyaninṛān* appropriate for Vēngaḍam. But the actual traditional authority for the name in this form is not quite clear. nor for the first term *Malaikiniyaninṛān*.

agreement with one of the Nambis worshipping Śrī Venkaṭēśvara. The Bhaṭṭar's name is Vēngaḍattu Uṛaivār, son of Malaininṛān Bhaṭṭar Appayyan of the Kaśyapa *gōtra*, Vaikhānasa *sūtra* and Yajus *Śākha*. It refers to a service rendered to the God in front of his own house. Further down there is a reference to the Lakshmīdēvi *Tiruṇāḷ*, obviously the same as the one instituted by Achyutarāya. The deposit is a comparatively small sum of 50 *paṇam*, but to be applied as other sums. The next one is No. 138, a document by the same donor and of the same Śāka year, but 9th November 1539. But there is another Bhaṭṭar associated with him. His name is given as Malaininṛān Perumāḷ, son of Karuṇākara Bhaṭṭam Gōvindaiyan of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Among the services there is mention of the recitation of *Tiruppaḷḷi Eḷucchi* for *Gñānappirān* (Varāha). The deposit amounted to 150 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The next document No. 141 is interesting as referring to a presentation by the same Perumgoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan, son of Nandi Lakki Śeṭṭi. This time it is a presentation of a silver plate of 6,000 units of weight, and one cup of 900 units of weight, both of silver. This same donor made a present of a gold cup already as will be remembered. The date is about the same year corresponding to A. D. 1541. No. 142 of Ś. 1461 (30th January 1540) is a donation by

Hanumasāni, the dancing girl, daugther of Uṭṭida Timmaiya, already referred to before. A garden-*maṇṭapa* built by her is under reference, and the donation is of the value of 820 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. No. 144 is of interest and comes from the temple of Śrī Kalyāṇá Venkatēśasvāmi at the village Mangāpuram near Chandragiri. This and the next following one No. 145 are in Telugu and come from the same temple. It is of the same Śāka year 1461 (22nd March 1540). This is a document by the same elder Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar who is here described as having found refuge in the diamond cage of Vēdānta Dēśika's feet. Vēdānta Dēśika is described as propogator of the teachings of Rāmānuja and is given the title *Kavitārkika Kēsari.* Of course the additional title of the establisher of the path of the Vēda is given to him, thus making it very clear that these Tallapākkam people were devoted disciples of Vēdānta Dēśika. The document refers to the son of this Tirumalai Aiyangar called Chinna Tirumalai Aiyangar, who is said to have built this temple, at least renovated it under the name Alamēlumangāpuram, which is described as a *sarvamānya agrahāra.* He installed there Śrī Venkaṭēśvara and his two consorts, and the attendant deities including the Āḻvārs and Rāmānuja. Further he set up the images of the *Pūrvāchāryas* including his own Achārya,

Annamāchārya, and provided for the daily services in these temples. No. 145 coming from the same temple notes down carefully the birthday asterisms of the Āḻvārs and the Achāryas referred to. The next one is No. 148 of Ś. 1462 (1st May 1540). This is an agreement with Venkaṭādri Ayyan, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar. This is a donation for service in the Gōvindarāja temple, for which he made over the village Gollapalli in the Panganāḍu of Udayagiri Rājya, yielding an annual revenue of 120 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-service was to be made over to the donor himself. The next noteworthy document is No. 152 of Ś. 1432 (31st December 1540). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Periya Timmappa and Chinna Timmappa, sons of a Basava Nāyaka. The deposit is one of 15,000 *paṇam* as in the other cases of influential officials we have noted already, to be applied for the purpose of the food-services. One point of interest here is a reference to a *vīdhi* (street) bearing the name Narasā Nāyaka in which he had a *maṇṭapa* built in his name. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by Śāttāda Appaiyan, son of Tiruttaṇi Timmaiyan, a resident of Rāmānuja Ayyan *Tiruvīdhi*. The next one is No. 153 of S. 1462 (31st December 1540). This is a benefaction by a certain Timmarasa, *Daḷavāy* of Achyutarāya, and son of

Pradhāni Sōmarasa Ayyan of Chandragiri. He is said to have belonged to Kaśyapa *gōtra*, Aśvalāyana *sūtra* and Rik *Śākha*. This is again a deposit of 15,000 *paṇam*. He is also said to have a *maṇṭapa* of his own in the said Narasā Nāyakan street. In addition to the deposit, he also made over the annual revenue of 150 *rēkai pon* from a village which is named Samapuram Tinnai in the Gōkulakuṇṭa *Śīrmai*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself. The next one is No. 155 of Ś. 1462 (12th February 1541). This relates to a Tōḻappa Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. He provided for a service in front of the Sankīrtana Bhaṇḍāra in the temple of Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān, and made over a village Kiḻanguṅṛam and a *kuppam* yielding a revenue of 300 *rēkai pon.* He also paid a cash deposit of 450 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of festivals throughout the year. Among the recipients of the donor's share of the *prasāda* are the Śrī Vishṇavas in front of the Bhaṇḍāra. The next is No. 156 of Ś. 1462 (13th February 1541). This is a benefaction by a certain Ēkāngi Pērambala Aiyan, the superintendent of the Tiruvēngaḍanāthan *Tirunandavanam.* He is described as the disciple of Emberumānār Appan, who is said to be the grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṇṇan, otherwise Vēdāntāchāryar. There is a reference to this Āchārya further down

in the course of this document, and the amount of deposit was 675 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. Among the recipients of the donor's share figures an outsider resident in charge of the *Tiruvēngaḍanāthan Maṭha*. The reference to the grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṇṇan on this date 1541 would give us an idea of the time in which Aṇṇan lived, and Aṇṇan was a younger contemporary and a disciple of Vēdānta Dēśika during his last years and survived him. The next is No. 158 of Ś. 1462 (27th January 1541). This is an agreement with Peruṁgoṇḍai Vīrappaṇṇan already noticed several times. He also claims to have had a *maṇṭapa* built in Narasā Nāyakan Street. The deposit was 15,000 *pons* and the donor's share of the service was to be received by himself alone. No. 159 belongs to the same Śāka year (27th January 1541). It is an agreement with Angarāja Nāgappaiyan, who had constructed a *maṇṭapa* of his own in Narasā Nāyakar *Angaṇam*. We cannot be sure that this is different from Narasā Nāyakan Street. It may be. The deposit is again 15,000 and the donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself alone. The next is No. 160 of Ś. 1462. The date does not appear to be quite regular. This is a benefaction by one Ulagappan, son of Śeṭṭalūr Ponnambalanāthar of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Āpastamba *suṭra*

and Yajus Śākha. From the name this donor appears to be a Smārta Brahman who deposited 800 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him alone. No. 161 is of date Ś. 1463 (28th May 1541). This is a benefaction by Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayyar, son of Timmarasaiyar. He had a garden and a *maṇṭapa* in it in Lower Tirupati, to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on certain festival days. He paid 233 current *rēkai pon* and purchased land equivalent to it and made a further deposit of 1,200 *pon* to be applied as usual. He was to receive the share of the donor's *prasāda* himself. This person Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayyar was one of two nephews of the famous minister Sāḷuva Timma. These were generals who distinguished themselves in war and were expert in civil administration, who were usually sent out to organise a government and an administration in provinces recently brought under Vijayanagara rule whenever it occurred. They were practically the right-hand men of the chief minister. Of course, being younger men, it is nothing strange they have lived on, perhaps holding office under Achyutarāya, while we see the uncles Timma and Gōvindarāja continued under Achyutarāya. No. 162 of Ś. 1463 (8th June 1541) is an interesting document, as the donor is a Śrī Vaishṇava

lady by name Tiruvēngaḍattār, daughter of Śiṛu Tiruvēngaḍa Chakravarti Aiyangar. The deposit amounted to 300 *paṇam* to be applied as usual and the donor's share of the food was to be received by the Vaishṇavas of the locality. One share of another service was to be received by a Śrīnivāsa Ayyan, son of Kandāḍai Tiruvēngaḍam Uḍaiyār. There is nothing else of interest in the document. No. 163 is of date Ś. 1463 (21st June 1541); this is a donation by Yatirāja Jīyar, the superintendent of the big temple (Periya Kōvil Kēḻvi), a disciple of Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, the superintendent of the Pēraruḷāḷan *Matha*. He made a deposit of 820 *pon* for certain services, of which a part was to be received by the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the locality and another part by the Jīyar himself. Then comes No. 166 of date Ś. 1463 (5th November 1541). The donor is Gōvindarāja, son of Rāchi Rāja of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Āpastamba *śūtra*, and Yajus *Śākha*. It is stated that he had a *maṇṭapa* of his own and provided for a number of services for which he made over a village, the name of which is gone, from the income of which the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by himself alone. The next document of importance is No. 168, of the same year Plava, which may be December—January 1441 or 1442. It is found in a detached

stone lying in one of the streets adjacent to the temple at Tirumalai. This is an agreement between those in charge of the temple treasury and Salakarāja Śiṛu Tirumalarāja, the younger of the two brothers of the name, brothers-in-law of the king. This is a conveyance of land by sale. The document is imperfect, and in defining the boundaries of the land sold, there is a reference to the crowned queen Varadāji Amman, who is said to have constructed an *Angaṇa Tiruvīdhi* in the place. *Angaṇa Tiruvīdhi*, as was explained already, meant a pavilion in the middle of streets with houses surrounding it. The next document is No. 170 of Ś. 1463 (10th February 1542). The donor is a Śingarāja, son of Salakayyadēva Mahārāja. This is the third son of Salakarāzu the father-in-law of Achyuta. There was a *maṇṭapa* constructed by him to which the God was to be taken on certain festival days. The deposit is, as usual with officers of high standing, 15,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the food was to be received by his own Āchārya, Tirumalai Tātaiyangar, son of Tirumalai Śoṭṭai Kumāra Tātaiyangar of the Ṣaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Yajus *Śākha*. These people, father and son, by their *gōtra*, etc., bring themselves into connection with the family of Tōḷappar claiming descent from Tirumalai Nambi, the uncle of

Rāmānuja. The next is No. 171 of the same Śāka date. But the other details are gone. The deposit is one of 500 *paṇam*, and the recipient of the donor's share of the *prasāda* was the superintendent of the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpan *maṭha*. The next document of importance is No. 174 of Ś. 1463 (23rd May 1542). This is an agreement with certain Malai Perumāḷ, whose father's name is gone in the document. He is said to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* and a garden which he made as a piece of charity, to which the God was to be taken on certain festival days and made it over to his own Āchārya, Śrī Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. In honour of this Āchārya he instituted a festival also, for which he made a deposit of 1,600 *paṇam* from the income of which the expenses were to be met. The last remark of importance is that the donor's share of the service was to be received by his own Āchārya, Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. This last remark by itself, and much more therefore in combination with the others, indicates that this Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, the Āchārya of the donor in the year A. D. 1542 was resident in Tirupati to receive the *prasāda*. We get here a precise date for this Jīyar in addition to the three inscriptional dates we have already noted above; but those dates indicated a discrepancy in regard to the dates of the sixth and the seventh Jīyars, and leave the dates of the previous five Jiyars in

some little uncertainty. But here this document of March 1542 referring to a Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar being a resident in Tirupati and receiving the donor's share of the produce makes it that this Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar was resident in Tirupati in that particular year. After the Ādi Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, the Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar that comes in is the fifth, Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, Parānkuśa Jīyar and Śrīnivāsa Jīyar coming between them. We noted a date A.D. 1516 for Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, and he must have been succeeded by Parānkuśa and Śrīnivāsa before this Śaṭakōpa could come into office. Going merely by the periods of office of these Jīyars, the date given here A.D. 1542 would work itself down to almost the first year of his pontificate, making the first three Jīyars contemporary with Krishṇa, the third and the fourth, and the fifth almost at the end of Achyutarāya's reign, contemporary with Achyuta, the fifth and the sixth contemporary with Sadāśiva and the seventh contemporary with Tirumala and Śrīranga. There is obviously an error in the association of the pontificates of the last two Jīyars, the sixth and the seventh Śashṭa Parānkuśa, and another Śaṭakōpa Jīyar. They must have had a much longer period of pontificate than those given to them by the *Maṭha* accounts. Possibly the fifth one Śaṭakōpa Jīyar also had a longer pontificate. So here we have a date A.D. 1542 for

the second Ṣaṭakōpa Jīyar, which enables us to readjust the dates of these Jīyars to some considerable extent. No. 175 is without date. The donor of this is one Appā Tiruvēngaḍa Aiyangar, keeper of the *Tiruvāḻiparappinān* garden. This is said to be an order of the *stānattār* which perhaps means it is not a donation, much rather it is an arrangement for the distribution of certain food-services. It is however said to be in the name of the person above mentioned. The donor's share was to be distributed between the Vaishṇavas who recited the *Iyal*, that is, the last section of the *Prabandhā* and the superintendent of the *Maṭha*, who was the keeper of the garden. Next we pass on to No. 179. The first portion of this inscription is gone and so the date. It seems to be a gift in *sarvamānya* of certain lands in the Avilāli village by the inhabitants of the locality. The next is No. 180. There again the beginning is gone. But it refers to a deposit of 1,800 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for a certain number of services. Nos. 190 and 191 are ordinary documents of donations. Then follow a number which are imperfect and gone in parts. There are, however, some interesting references, say for instance, No. 196 refers to a Pudōliyār, Pudōli being a place containing a Vishṇu temple in the Nellore District associated with the family of the Yādavarāyas. Then No. 249 refers for the first time the

Nādamuni, apparently the image of Nādamuni, and a certain food-service in a particular street. This is the first reference that we get to the first Āchārya in Tirupati inscriptions.

That brings Volume IV of the Dēvastānam Inscriptions, dealing with the inscriptions of the reign of Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya, to a close. The last date available in this group of inscriptions is the date of No. 174, which corresponds to the 23rd February A.D. 1542, the earliest date noted for Achyutarāya being as was stated already, 14th January A.D. 1530. The number of inscriptions for this reign, although it is only twelve years, is larger than that of the previous period. All the inscriptions almost are uniformly dated in the reign of Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya. As we have already stated, a certain number, comparatively a small number is by the king himself or the queen; but a comparatively larger number is by his officers and other men of position. The far greater number, however, are from private individuals. Achyutarāya's devotion is indicated not only by his own visits and presentations, to the God at Tirumalai, but also by other works of his benefaction, such as the building of the Achyutapperumāḷ Kōvil, the reforming of the *Kapila Tīrtha* into *Chakra Tīrtha*, and other measures already adverted to. On the whole,

these records of Achyutarāya leave in us the impression that he was a monarch pious and devoted to God Venkaṭēśa and conducted himself accordingly. The example thus set would be followed by those of the court, and we find that the members of his court followed his example, more or less closely, in respect of their various donations to the temple. Of course, other noteworthy points have been drawn attention to. We find mention in the course of these records of a number of Vaishṇava Āchāryas, and some of the Jīyars of the Ahōbala *Maṭha* which lead to important conclusions in regard to their dates. A certain number of other Āchāryas of influence generally, but not occupying any recognised positions, are similarly mentioned, so that, on the whole, these records leave in us the impression that in the reign of Achyutarāya Tirupati came in for a great deal of attention by the monarch and his court as pious devotees, and the temple itself was kept in a flourishing condition. Efforts of the previous period for developing the permanent resources of the temple are equally visible in this, and additions by actual donation are also conspicuously large. It may be said that Tirupati reached a very high state of prosperity in the reign of Krishṇadēvāraya, whose devotion to the temple was peculiarly great.

CHAPTER X.

SADASIVARAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR.

HOW SADASIVA SUCCEEDED TO THE THRONE. We now pass on to the reign of Sadāśivarāya, who followed Achyuta. In several of the inscriptions of Achyuta we came upon a prince, his son, Chinna Venkaṭādri. Probably he was a comparatively young prince, and what happened to him we do not know for certain. As a matter of fact, the reign of Achyutarāya itself became obscure in regard to what took place after A. D. 1535, and the remaining years have been generally passed over by historians so far. But these Tirupati inscriptions take us to a date in March A. D. 1542, the last record in the name of Achyutarāya. Therefore it is clear that Achyutarāya lived down to 23rd March A.D. 1542, the date of this particular record. But Sadāśiva's records as ruler begin to appear about six or seven months earlier, the earliest known date referring to the year Ś. 1463, corresponding to 21st July A.D. 1541. That would perhaps mean Sadāśiva was formally installed as ruler in A.D. 1541. It is, however, stated in other records that Sadāśiva was chosen crown prince in the Ś. year 1459, corresponding to A.D. 1537. This does not, however, make it clear whether this

nomination was intended to make Sadāśiva succeed in preference to the young prince, Venkaṭādri. This prince Venkaṭādri was obviously young, but seems to have lived on to the end of Achyuta's reign. He is mentioned in records of Achyuta in A.D. 1541. A record of the following year in South Arcot refers to Venkaṭa as Mahārāja* of date Tuesday 22nd August 1542. It seems then as if Achyuta died in or about 25th June 1542, and his son prince Venkaṭa succeeded to the throne normally. Then he must have been forced out of the throne by Sadāśiva or others interested in him. Since Sadāśiva was nominated for the succession by Achyuta himself, the dispute about the succession after the death of Achyuta may have been brought about otherwise than by any anxiety on the part of Sadāśiva or his friends. If Ferishta is to be believed, the matter was pushed to an extreme by Salakam Tirumala the senior. Having placed the young prince on the throne and, perhaps suspecting designs on the part of Sadāśiva and his friends, he seems to have put the prince to death and assumed the power himself, which at once called for intervention from Rāmarāja and his brothers to take up the cause of Sadāśiva. The position was soon aggravated by Salakam Timma calling in the assistance of the

* *E. C.* X Mēlūr 62 ; see Sewell's *Hist. Ins. of S. India* p. 249.

Adil Shāh of Bijapur with the result that Salakam Timma was overthrown and Sadāśiva was placed upon the throne by Rāmarāja and his brothers. That according to Ferishta was actually the course of events notwithstanding the very confused character of his narration of the events. In the actual circumstances of the case, probably Ferishta's is about the correct account. I am setting down here that account :—

"Ramraj having expended the treasures of his military chest wrote to his deputy to send him a supply of money from Beejanuggur, in order to enable him to continue the war ; but the deputy, on opening the vaults of the treasury, and perceiving the magnitude of its wealth, instantly resolved on rebellion against his patron, and set at liberty the young Ray, having first induced Bhoj Tirumul Ray to embrace his interest. The deputy now assumed the office of minister, and began to levy troops. Several tributary rays, who were offended with Ramraj's administration, hastened to Beejanuggur to rally round their lawful King, and in a short time thirty thousand horse, and vast hosts of foot, were assembled under his standard at the city. Bhoj Tirumul Ray, apprehending that the slave, now the minister, might repent of his rebellion and eventually betray them to Ramraj, put his benefactor to

death, and assumed the management of affairs at Beejanuggur.

Ramraj, on hearing of this revolt, concluded a hasty peace with his enemy, and returned towards Beejanuggur; but being deserted by several of his officers, who left him on the route to join their lawful sovereign, he thought it advisable at present to desist from war, and to rest content with his extensive jageer. A treaty was accordingly brought about between him and the young ray, by which Ramraj was suffered to remain in independent possession of his country. Quiet being now restored, the nobility, who had supported the revolution, left their sovereign under the care of his uncle Bhoj Tirumul, and returned to their several districts. Not long after this event, the uncle becoming ambitious of reigning, strangled his nephew, and seized the throne of Beejanuggur, and being a member of the royal family the nobility preferred his authority to that of Ramraj; but in a short time, being unwilling to endure his tyranny and oppression, they became disaffected towards him, and invited Ramraj to return, and assume the administration of affairs.

Bhoj Tirumul Ray, obtaining intelligence of their designs, despatched ambassadors with a

sum of six lacks of hoons,* and many valuable presents, to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, soliciting him to march to his assistance, in return for which he promised to acknowledge himself tributary, and to pay down a sum of three lacks of hoons for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by the greatness of offer, and by the advice of Assud Khan, moved from his capital in the year 942, and arrived at Beejanuggur without opposition, when he was conducted into the city by Bhoj Tirumul Ray, who seated him on the royal musnud, and made rejoicings for seven days. Ramraj and the confederate nobles now sent letters to the Ray expressing contrition for their rebellion, and assuring him of their future firm allegiance. They represented in strong colours the evil consequences of introducing the Musselmans into their country; that their temples and the idols would be defiled and destroyed, and that the children of all ranks of people, as in the times of the Bahmany kings, would be carried away into captivity. Ramraj, morever, swore never again to depart from his allegiance, if Bhoj Tirumul Ray would cause the retreat of the King of Beejapoor to his own dominions. Bhoj Tirumul Ray, thinking he had now no further use

A. H. 942
A. D. 1535.

---

* £ 240,000.

for his allies, requested the return of the Mahomedan army, and paid down fifty lacks of hoons*, the amount of the settled subsidy besides making presents to a vast amount to the king, among which were twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses.

Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet recrossed the Krishna, when Ramraj and the confederates, who had bribed many of the troops in the city, broke their promises, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolving to put the Ray to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor. Bhoj Tirumul Ray, finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails, that they might be of no use to his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through and came out at his back; thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Ramraj

* About £ 1,750,000 sterling.

now became Ray of Beejanuggur without a rival.*"

THE EXPLANATION OF THE REVOLUTION. If Achyuta himself nominated Sadāśiva, Sadāśiva should have succeeded without question. But during the later years of Achyutarāya's reign, all the power in the state had been exercised by his brothers-in-law, the two Timmarāzus, elder and younger sons of Salakarāzu. It is probably they that found the accession of Venkaṭa in their own interest, and possibly their rivals Rāmarāja and his brothers wanted a change. This might have been because Sadāśiva might have shown a leaning towards Aḷiya Rāmarāja and his brothers, as Rāma was son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya, and, as we know, Rāma was already associated with Achyuta during the period of Achyuta's regency for Krishṇadēvarāya, soon after A.D. 1525, perhaps owing to Krishṇa's illness. Rāma with the assistance of his brothers perhaps found their position in danger, and had to fight and dispossess the Salakam brothers and take the real power in their own hands, Sadāśiva becoming the ruler. It is probably this disputed succession that occupied the year A.D. 1542–43, and it is perhaps an echo of this which we have in a record of the 19th April A.D. 1543 which conveys the happy announcement of the enthronement of

* *Brigg's Ferishta* III, pp. 82–85.

Sadāśiva. Another record dated 6th August A.D. 1543 also refers to the joyous occasion of Sadāśiva capturing Vijayanagar on a date equivalent to 6th August A.D. 1543. It is therefore clear that Sadāśiva was actually nominated to the succession in A.D. 1537, perhaps actually began to exercise authority in A.D. 1541. He must have formally become ruler in the following March A.D 1542, and then must have come in the dispute which lasted till April A.D. 1543. An inscription of date June A.D. 24, 1545 actually says that Prince Venkaṭa succeeded Achyuta, and died soon after. The same record declares Sadāśiva as having been placed on the throne by Aḷiya Rāmarāja his brother-in-law who thus became the real ruler of the Karnāṭaka kingdom.* It is this war brought about by the intrigues of Salakarāzu Timmarāzu, the elder, that perhaps gave him the name mad Tirumala, and brought about the influence of Rāma and his brothers in the administration of Sadāśiva. Taking therefore for the moment A.D. 1541 as the date of accession of Sadāśiva we find the latest records of Sadāśiva going down to Ś. 1495, in the Tirupati inscriptions, to a date equivalent to 29th January 1574. But a date later by about two years is found elsewhere, corresponding to 9th May A.D. 1575, though

* *E. C.* IV, No. 58.

Tirumala the younger brother of Aḷiya Rāmarāzu seems to give himself imperial titles in the year A.D. 1571, that is, six years after the battle of Talikota. Neglecting even these later years, Sadāśiva would have had a reign of forty years.

The number of records of the reign of Sadāśiva in Tirupati is not larger than that either of Achyuta or Krishṇa, and the actual number of records of the ruler himself is much smaller. The number relating to the officers of the state is also comparatively smaller, the number of private benefactions continuing as ever before. Perhaps an inference of a certain diminution of interest in the temple, in the ruling sovereign and his officers, may be a justifiable inference. If that were so, that would only confirm the reference we quoted before from a work, *Mahisura Narapati Vijayam* that Rāmarāya was a person addicted to vice and dice, and unfriendly to Brahmans and *Gurus*. Whether that was actually so or not, the lack of interest shown in regard to Tirupati would in a way confirm that position in regard to him. We shall now take up the inscriptions in detail.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF SADASIVARAYA. The inscriptions of Sadāśivarāya begin with an introduction quite similar to that of Achyutarāya, and even Krishṇadēvarāya generally, and the

records are dated uniformly in Śāka dates with full details making it easy for verification. The earliest record of Sadāśiva in the Dēvastānam inscriptions, Volume V, is dated Ś. 1463 corresponding to 21st July 1541, though the date of Achyuta's death lies six or seven months ahead. The document is a benefaction by a Śrī Rāma Bhaṭṭar, son of Tirumalai Jōsyar of Yeṇḍalūr, and refers to the grant of two villages one in Siddavaṭṭam *Śīrmai* and the other in the Paḍaivīdu Rājya, yielding 100 and 200 *rekai pon* (10 *paṇam* each) respectively. The donor's share of the food-service was to be received by Śrī Rāma Bhaṭṭar aḷone. The next one is of the same Ś. date corresponding to 27th January 1542. This is an agreement with two *Jīyars* (ascetics). The first of them is called *Kōvil Kēḻvi* Jīyar, which means the ascetic superintending temple affairs who is described as a disciple of Vānamāmalai Jīyar, and in charge of the garden and *maṇṭapam*, Aḻagiya Maṇavāla *Maṭham*. Another one is called Vānamāmalai Jīyar, a disciple of Rāmānuja Jīyar. These names perhaps show that they belonged to *Ten Kalai* section of the Śrī Vaishṇavas, and were connected with the *maṭha* at Vānamāmalai in the Tinnevelly Dt. The donation by these people is to provide for a certain number of services on a number of occasions throughout the year, for which they

deposited 2,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and from the income therefrom the expenses of the services were to be met. There is one point calling for remark here, and that is a temple for Daivanāyaka Perumāḷ, a temple not met with so far. Among the recipients of the *prasāda*, the document is here partly gone, happen to be the name Anandān Piḷḷai Jīyar, who is described as the *Āchārya* of the donors, and Kōvil Kandāḍai Aṇṇan, who were to receive a part. The next one calling for attention is No. 5 dated Ś. 1464 corresponding to 5th February 1543. This is an agreement with the temple accountant, *Dēvar Vaṇaṅga Varuvār Vēngaḍattu Araśu* with the usual hereditary titles of the accountants. He made provision for a food-service to Alaṛmēlmangaināchchiyār "who is on the chest of Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān" for the merit of his mother Brahmāttāḷ. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him. This description of the goddess being on the chest of God is worthy of remark. According to the Paurāṇic accounts God Vishṇu is supposed to have given up Vaikunṭha and come down to reside in Tirupati, because of Lakshmī, generally resident on his chest, having gone away from him in anger, because he took no steps to protect her efficiently when Rishi Bhṛgu kicked Him on the chest, as he found Him asleep

while his duty was to be watching over the universe. Of course, according to the story, the kick fell on her, and that instead of punishing the Rishi for the insult offered to her, he apologised for his own seeming carelessness. Hence the God in Tirupati is supposed to be without Lakshmī on the chest, and when he had married Padmāvati, Lakshmī in human form, the foster-daughter of Ākāśarāja, he made a representation of her in gold, and made that a part of the jewel round the neck. Notwithstanding the absence of Lakshmī on him, it must be remembered, the God on the hill is named Śrīnivāsa, the abode of Śrī or Lakshmī. This contrariety is difficult for those not accustomed to Hindu philosophy to understand. With this tradition at the bottom of the temple in Tirupati, here is a specific statement in the inscription that Lakshmī was there on the chest. This is of course in conformity with the belief that she is never absent from him (*Śrī-Anapāyini.*) The next one is No. 6 of Ś. 1464 (16th February 1543). This is an agreement with the temple accountant Kuppaiyan. The inner street in Tirupati is here called, as in some previous records, Bhāshyakārar Agrahāra. A house in this street which was gifted to the superintendent of works in the temple, was taken over as a charity gift, and the said accountant built on the land a

small temple for Gōvinda-Krishṇa and a pavilion for the spiritual benefit of Tiruniṅṛa-ūr-uḍaiyār, that is, the family of accountants. Provision was made for the daily food offerings of the image in this temple by the deposit of 1,500 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, the donor's share of the food being given over to the donor himself. The next record of interest is No. 11 of Ś. 1465 (5th Jan. 1544). This is a benefaction by Maṭla Varadarāja, son of Pōttarāzu, grandson of Maṭla Sōmarāzu. These are given the *birudas* of the family which state that they belonged to the Chōḻa family of the solar race, and regarded as a distinct section from the Pottappi Chōḻas and even the Uraiyūr Chōḻas. This Varadarāja, would appear from literature was a son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya, had married Krishṇāmbā, daughter of Krishṇadēvarāya, the other daughter Tirumalāmba, having married Āravīṭi Rāmarāju. It provides for a certain number of food-services for the spiritual merit of his mother Channamma, and other food-services for which he made a deposit of 312 *pon*. The donor's share of the food-services was to be distributed among the Vaishṇavas reciting the *Iyal*, *Iyarpā*. This son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya does not appear in any of the records of Krishṇa or Achyuta before this. We pass on to No. 17 of Ś. 1466 (14th June 1544). This is a benefaction by one Bhayakar

Rāmappaiya, son of Periya Timmarasa of Pādirikkuppam. The document relates to the gift of the village Kuḷattūr, an *Agrahāra* in lieu of three villages in the Koṇḍapalli *Śīrmai* which had been gifted to the temple by his father yielding a revenue of 150 *pon*. In lieu thereof Rāmappa gave half of this *Agrahāra*, as one half of it already was a charity gift to the Brahmans of the *Agrahāra*. This half gave an equivalent revenue of 150 *pon*. He also made over another village Koppōli in Manamabōli *Śīrmai* yielding a revenue of 350 *pon*, so that his gift provided for an annual income of 500 *pon*. With this income the previous arrangement of service by the father was to be conducted and a certain number of additional services instituted by the son. Another donor Krishṇappaiyan is mentioned here, who made over five other villages yielding a revenue-income of 950 *pon*, and a certain number of services were instituted from this. The donor's share of the produce of the first service was to be received by the donor himself. That of the second service was to be made over to a certain Śrīnivāsa Aiyar, son of Udayagiri Dēvaṇṇa Bhaṭṭar, as a permanent gift. This Rāmappaiyan was a distinguished officer of the state, and the grant by the father referred to in the body of the document, is a grant made in A. D. 1534 by the father, under Achyutarāya, for

the merit of prince Venkaṭādri. He was not only a distinguished administrator both under Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, but held important positions even under Rāmarāja. He was also a distinguished scholar and musician. The work *Svaramēḷa Kalānidhi* is a work ascribed to him. The next is No. 27 of Ś. 1466 (19th January 1545). This is a donation by a certain Singarāja, son of Ōbaḷarāja for a certain number of food-services that he instituted. He made over the income from half the village of Rāmappākkam in the Pāḷayam *Śīrmai*, the other half being *Agrahāra*. The income from the half was 100 *rēkai pon*, and the donor's share of the produce was to be received by himself alone. The next is No. 29 of Ś. 1466 (equivalent to 19th January 1545). This is a donation by Aḷiya Rāmarājadēva Mahārāja, son of Śrī Ranga, son of Āravīṭi Bukkarāya. This is a donation for the spiritual merit of Sadāśivarāya, and the donation has reference to the village Puduppaṭṭu in the Ārya *Śīrmai* yielding a revenue of 200 *pon*. It also made provision to Rāmarāju's son Timmarāju for a food-service on *Dvādaśi* days. There are a certain number of other services besides. Lower down in the document another service is instituted for the merit of Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya and Śrī Rangarāja, obviously the father of Rāmarāja. There is another service again here by

Poṭṭapāti Timmarāja, apparently one already referred to as the son of Rāmarāja. It provides also for the maintenance of the Brahman who was reading the *Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmyam* both in the hill and in the Gōvindarāja temple, who was rewarded with the donor's part of the food-service. The next is No. 31 of Ś. 1466 (15th February 1545). This is a donation by a lady Tirumalamma, wife of Śeṇbaga Kāmayyar, who was the son of Ādinātha of Vāṇavan Mahādēvi. She deposited 4,000 *paṇam*, and a supplementary deposit of another 100, which was to be applied as usual for the purposes of the various services instituted. Of the donor's share of the services a part was to be given to the husband, and a smaller part to a daughter of hers called Alaṛmēlmangai. No. 32 is of the same Ś. date, but 26th February 1545. This refers to a donation by the dancing girls Lingāsāni and Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam of 1,600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual. A part of the donor's share of the food-service was to be given over to a Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, and the rest was to be received by the donors. The next following is No. 34 of Ś. 1466 again (19th March 1544). This is by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar already familiar to us. This is a service for Nammāḻvār at *Kapila Tīrtham* on the car festival day for the Āḻvār. The deposit was 1,020 *paṇam* to be

applied as usual for an income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the donor himself. The next one is No. 38 of Ś. 1466 (6th March 1545). This is a donation by a Lady Gōvindi, daughter of one Timmaiyan, of the shepherd caste, among *Vaḍuhars* (Telugus). She made a deposit for the spiritual merit of her father Timmaiya, mother Rāghava Amma, and an elder sister Veṇgaḷu. There is reference here again to the beginning of accounts on the first day of Āshāda (Tam : Āḍi) every year. There is a further reference to a *maṇṭapā* in a garden belonging to her. The total deposit was 2,080 *paṇam* to be applied as usual and the donor's share of the service was to be received by her. No. 40 is of interest as making a donation of 100 *paṇam* by a certain Krishṇa Mangai, daughter of Gōvindi, daughter of a Timmaiyan. A provision was to be made for a food-service to the person reading the *Kauśikapurāṇam* in the temple. This is generally done on the twelfth day of each fortnight. The donor's share of the food-service was to be distributed among the Vaishṇavas of the place. No. 41 of Ś. 1446 (11th March 1545) is a document of interest as it is of a dancing girl of Tirupati by name Śeṇbaga Vengu, daughter of Tunga Chelvi Timmi. It is a deposit of 600 *paṇam* the income from which was to be used for the expense of the service. The donor's share of

the service was to be received by her after providing shares for her own *Guru* Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, another share to one Uruppaṭṭūr Anandaiyangar, and a third to the reader of the *Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmyam*, Vēngaḍatturaivār (the same as the above). No. 46 is of Ś. 1467 (2nd July 1545). This is a donation by a Nāgasāni, who was sent over to the temple at Tirupati by Achyutarāya. The latter part of the document is gone, and therefore the other details. The next is No. 47 of the same Ś. year (3rd July 1545). This is again a donation by Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. Among the distribution of money we meet with provision for two people at the conclusion of the *Sankīrtana*, that is, the singing of poems composed by him; similarly provision at the conclusion of the reading of the *Śrī Bhāshya*, both in the hill shrine and in the lower temple. The deposit was to be an income of 280 *rēkai pon* for which he apparently made over a village; but, as there was some obstacle in the way of the carrying out of this, he made a deposit for meeting the expenses at the treasury, and was conducting the services, when he got sanction apparently for the village being gifted both from Sadāśivarāya and Rāmarāja. They are referred to as Sadāśivarāya's *Rāyasam* (order) and Rāmarāja Aiyar's *Tirumukam* (letter). He made a further deposit, along

with a disciple of his, of 386 *rēkai pon* which was to be applied as usual, and from the income a certain number of other services was to be instituted. The donor's share of the services was to be received by him, as is generally the case with them. No. 51 of Ś. 1467 (5th July 1545) is a grant by Viṭṭalēśvara of Āravīḍu, son of Timmarāja, son of Rāmarāja, son of Bukkarāja. Among the services, the distribution of clothing to those that come for the festivals, and of the distribution of butter-milk at the front door of the temple are mentioned. It refers to a number—a larger number—of services. Among them are mentioned distribution of money among the *Nambimārs*, temple priests engaged in the service, and readers of *Vēdapurāṇam*, reciters of the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, readers of the *Venkaṭēśvara Māhātmyam*, the astrologer who fixes days for festivals, etc. The total expenditure is made out to be 1,000 *rēkai pon*, for which he made over three villages yielding respectively 500, 250 and 250 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by his Āchārya, Śrīranga, son of Kandāḍai Bhāvanāchārya. This Viṭṭalarāja is the great officer of distinction who carried the arms of Vijayanagar down the whole length of the peninsula to Cape Comorin asserting the authority of the empire of Vijayanagar as against the ruler of the Tiruvaḍi

Rājyam, and the rebel chieftans like Tumbichchi Nāyaka and Sāḷuva Nāyaka. This trouble actually began early in the reign of Achyutarāya, nay, the last years of Krishṇa really, and had been brought under control as a result of the campaign undertaken by Salakarāzu Tirumalarāzu. But it apparently cropped up again under Sadāśiva and resulted in a protracted campaign in which both this Timmarāzu Viṭṭalarāzu as he is called, and his brother Chinna Timma were engaged, till, in the year A.D. 1557, the Travancore ruler submitted and even paid a visit to Tirupati and made a benefaction to the God there. It was not merely the local trouble that was the cause of this vast campaign. The matter probably was complicated by the intervention of the Portuguese by an attempted invasion of the east coast and by their subsequent doings in Travancore. An additional stimulating cause was the work of conversion to Christianity, carried on a large scale in the southern districts, through the active exertions of Father Xavier. Of course Rāmarāzu Viṭṭala was one among a comparatively large number of cousins who each played his own distinguished part in the course of Vijayanagar history under Sadāśiva and helped the administration under Rāmarāja in the maintenance of Vijayanagar in undiminished power. The next record of importance is

No. 53 of Ś. 1467 (15th July 1545). This is a benefaction intended for the spiritual merit of Sadāśiva and Rāmarājayya. The donor was a certain Timmarājayya, whose father's name is gone in the document as it has come down to us, but seems to be the Timmarājayya of the Auk family, one of the cousins of Rāmarāja and coming of the group going by the name Āravīṭi, the family of Āravīḍu. This provides for a large number of services, among them the reading of the *Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmyam* both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati for which two separate provisions have been made; the reader was Anantaiyangar, son of Uruppaṭṭūr Tiruvēngaḍayyan as he is called. This person is also described as Vēngaḍatturaivār. The provision actually made was 13,220 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, and the expenses met from the income. The donor's share of certain services was to be received by Anantaiyangar, reader of the *Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmyam*. What was left over of the donor's share after this was to be received by the donor himself, who is called here Poṭlapāṭi Timmarājayyan, Rāmarāja's cousin already referred to. The next document is No. 55 of Ś. 1467 (2nd August 1545) and is a donation by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. The donation consisted of 114 *rēkai pon*, the income from a village called

Gaṇḍama Timmāpuram yielding a revenue of 100 *rēkai pon.* For the rest of it he made a cash donation, and with two other small donations made by others, his disciples, there was a cash donation of 16 *rēkai pon.* Of the donor's share of the sevice the full cooked food was to be received by Tirumalai Aiyangar himself, but the other eatables were to be distributed among the Śrī Vaishṇavas. The next one of importance is No. 60 of Ṡ. 1467 (26th November 1545). This is a benefaction by one of the *Nambis* (temple-priests) conducting worship in the temple. The name of the donor is Vēngaḍatturaivār, son of Malaininṛan Bhaṭṭar Appaiyan. He is described as belonging to the Kaśyapa *gōtra*, Vaikhānasa *sūtra* and of the Yajur Vēda. He made a deposit of 1,155 *paṇam* for certain services, among which there is a reference to a tank called *Alaṛmēl-mangai Samudram*, which this donor is said to have constructed along with a garden and a pavilion in it. Another of the Bhaṭṭars also made a donation of 185 *paṇam* and among the services provided for is the reading of the *Kauśika-purāṇam* on *Uttāna Dvādaśi.* This is the 12th day of the bright half in the month of *Kārttikā* (November—December) every year. There was another donor also who joined, who provided for a certain number of services as well and paid a donation of 97 *paṇam* making a total of 2,650

paṇam to be applied as usual. The donor's share of the services was to be received by themselves alone. The next document is No. 61 of the same Ś. year, but of 8th January 1546. This is a benefaction by a Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar, son of Udayagiri Narasinga Bhaṭṭar. He had provided for a water-shed for which he constructed a building immediately to the west of Vyāsa Uḍaiyār *maṇṭapam*, probably the pavilion belonging to the Vyāsarāya *Maṭha*. He also provided for a water-shed at the foot of the hill in the place called smaller Ghat, for all of which he paid 1,600 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, from the income whereof the two water-sheds had to be maintained. No. 65 is an imperfect document coming from the Gōvindarāja temple in Lower Tirupati, which has but a few lines forming part of the inscription. These lines contain the interesting detail that the donor's share of the services was to be made over to the donor's Āchārya Vēdānta Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, and his disciples for all time to come. This, as we have noted already elsewhere is an important synchronism, as it brings this Jīyar into contemporaneity with Sadāśiva, although there is no date or anything else of the record known. The next one is No. 66 of Ś. 1467 (25th March 1546). The donor is an official of the chief named Chinna Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, who is described as the son

of Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, who himself was the son of Āravīṭi Bukkarāja. The person actually concerned, however is Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭa, who held the office of door-keeper of this chief, which means perhaps that he was the officer in attendance. He is described as the son of Udayagiri Narasimha Bhaṭṭar, whose *gōtra*, etc., are given. This seems to provide for a certain number of services to Viṭṭalēśvara Perumāḷ, whom he seems to have installed within the premises of the Hanumān temple in the locality. It provides for a large number of services for which he provided a certain revenue to be derived from a particular village attaching to Tirucchuhanūr, which is here given the alternative name of Varadarājapuram. He dug a canal from there at his own expense and called it Viṭṭalēśvaran channel, and brought it to a village which he called Viṭṭalēśvarapuram. He also bought, in the course of the construction of this village, an *Agrahāra* gifted by one Bhayakara Rāmappaiya in the village Kuḷattūr belonging to Neḏunāḏu. He excluded half of the village as the *Agrahāra* part, and made the remaining half into four shares, which he handed over to various people for cultivating and paying the revenue for the services of Viṭṭalēśvara. He also made over to the temple the yearly contributions paid by the *Kōmaṭṭi* merchants of 30 *rēkai pon*, and, with this total

revenue, met the expenses of the services instituted. The donor's share of the services was to be distributed among those who habitually come to visit the place for purpose of worshipping God. No. 67 also comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine and belongs to the Ś. year 1468 (11th March 1546). This is an agreement with two members of the temple-accountant family. These made over to the temple one irrigation channel constructed by them at their own expense, and then a part of the village which they purchased for 400 *pon*, a donation of 120 by the Tiruvēngaḍattu Araśu, another 20 from a Siddhaiyan, another 300 from one called Bhūlōka Siddhaiyan, making a total of 440 in cash, or 840 all told to meet the expenses of the services enumerated. There was an additional donation of 125 *paṇam* from another individual, which was also added to this constituting the whole deposit one of 965 *paṇam*. This was to be applied as usual to produce an income, the donor's share of the *prasāda* being received by the donors, each donor receiving his particular share. The next one No. 68 is also from Lower Tirupati of the same Ś. year (20th June 1546). The donor is Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. It refers to a temple of Dakshiṇa Nārāyaṇa Perumāḷ installed by him in the *Tīrthavāri maṇṭapam* at *Āḻvār Tīrtham*. For a certain number of services to this deity, he made over 2,300 *paṇam* to be

applied as usual for an annual income. The rest of the document is gone. Then follows No. 70 from Tirumala of Ś. 1468 (20th June 1546). This is an agreement with a certain number of people, whose office was to keep watch at the large gateway of the Tirumalai temple. Then all these are named, and, among the services mentioned, there is reference to a pavilion called *Tiruvēṭṭuvar*, hunter-folk who are regarded as the principal inhabitants of the hill. There was also a donation made by a certain Tirumagaḷ, daughter of Elli. The total of these donations make 570 *paṇam* to be applied as usual for an annual income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by each donor. No. 71 is of Ś. 1468 (17th July 1546). The donor is a son of Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar, the elder by name Tiruvēngadanāthan. He made provision for an elaborate series of services and gifts. Among them there is provision for a service on the birthday asterism of *Tūppil Piḷḷai*, which is the Vaishṇava orthodox name for Vēdānta Dēśika. To meet the expenses of these he made over the revenue of the village of Chandalūr in the Koṇḍavīḍu *Śīrmai* with a revenue of 500 *varāhas*, and another village Mallāvaram yielding 120 *varāhas*. The donor's share of the services was to be distributed among the Vaishṇavas coming for worship. This Tiruvēngadanāthan of

Tallapākkam is the author of a Telugu work *Ashṭa Mahishī Kalyāṇam.* The next is No. 74 of Ś. 1468 (23rd July 1546). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam, daughter of Tippāsāni of the dancing girl community. The interesting detail is given here that the girl was given the title Tiruvēngaḍa Māṇikkam, and, on that occasion, the *stānattār* and Poṭlapāṭi Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja already referred to, presented her with a small palanquin. This document makes provision for one unit of food in Tirumalai and one in the Gōvindarāja shrine for her; also two other food-services on the occasions of the God being taken over to a garden built by her, as also another service in the temple itself. The *stānattār* agreed upon this provision for her permanently. The next one is No. 75 coming from Tirumala also of the same Ś. date but 13th August 1546. This is an agreement with one Śrīpati Ōbaḷa rāja, son of a *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Māru Rāzu Rāmarāzu, that is Maru Rāzu's son Rāmarāzu. The *gōtra*, etc., given show that they probably belonged to the family of the Āravīṭi chiefs. The revenue of 300 solid *varāhas* coming from the village Pērūr in the Gōmakkarai *Śīrmai* of Mēlaḍaināḍu was assigned. The income from this was to be applied for the purpose of the services instituted. The donor's share of the

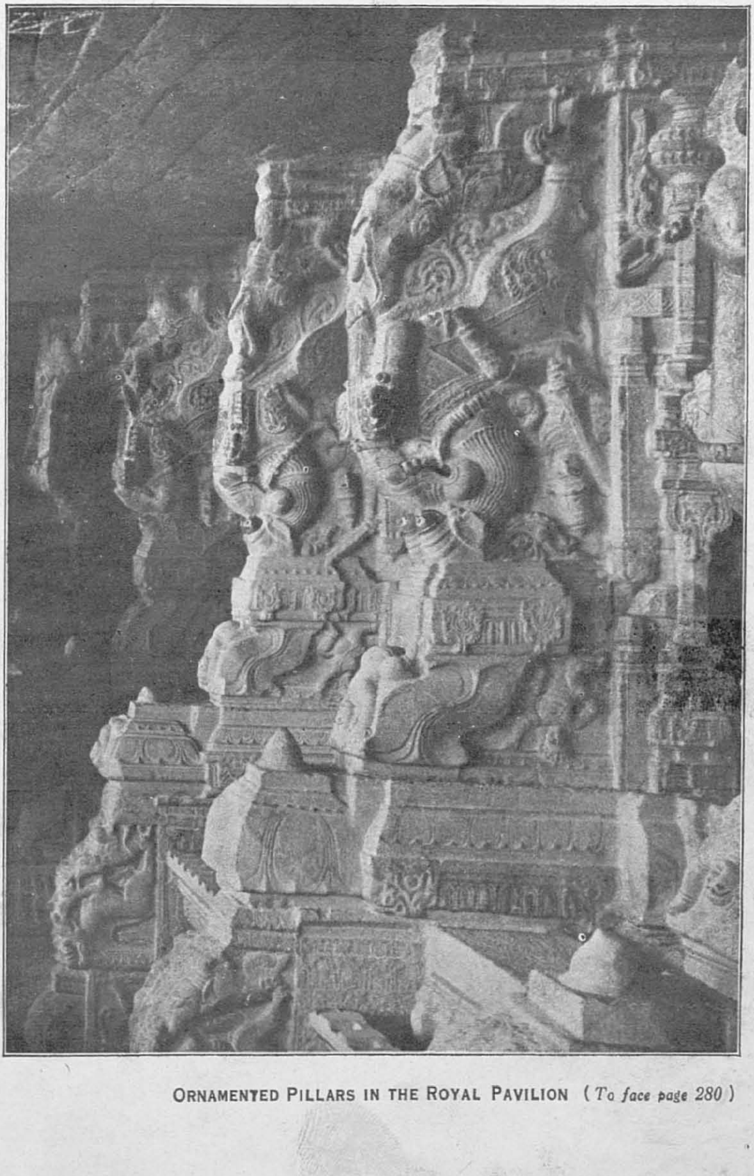
service was to be received by the donor himself. We pass on to No. 78 from Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1468 (21st September 1546). The service was apparently instituted for the merit of Rāmarāzu by Timmarāzu, son of Āravīṭi Timmarāzu, one of the cousins of Rāma. This chief built a pavilion to the south-west of *Achyutarāyā Kōnēri*, and a pavilion by *Villis* (a class of hunter-folk) is also under reference. The document is imperfect and does not even contain the details as to the actual amount of the donation. Then follows No. 79 of the same Ś. year (13th October 1546). This is an agreement with Poṭlapāṭi Rangarāzu, son of Āravīṭi Nārapparāzu. There is a specific reference to a Vānamāmalai Jīyar's *Maṭha* at Tirupati. The assignment made was 370 *rēkai pon* from the village of Rāchērla in Viṭadōni *Śīrmai*. The donor's share was to be given to the donor himself. The next one is No. 81 of the same Ś. year (13th October 1546), the donor being Timmaṇa Uḍaiyār, son of Ellappa Uḍaiyār of Venkāpuram. The deposit was 12,000 *paṇam* to be applied as usual, the income from which was to be used for the services. A part of the donor's share of the service was to be handed over to a Venkāpuram Nārayaṇa Śeṭṭi, who was to make use of it for a water-service in a pavilion constructed by the father of the donor at the foot of the hill. The next one is No. 86 from Lower Tirupati of

the same Ś. year (13th January 1547). This is an agreement with Śevvu Nāyaka, son of Śinga Nallappan of the Gaṇḍapāla *gōtra* of the Veḷḷāḷa caste belonging to the Pangu Nāḍu. This provides for a certain number of services by a number of people in addition to this particular donor. The principal shrine involved is the Rāma temple in the locality. The total of the number of these donations comes up to 2,480 *paṇam*, the donor's share of the service to go to the various donors. It is interesting to note that No. 88 of the same Ś. year is an agreement with the temple servants who carry on the food-services in the temple. It is a record of a number of donations that they made for certain services. We pass on to No. 92 from Lower Tirupati of the following Ś. year 1469 (3rd June 1547). The donor in this case is the Āchāryapurusha, Śrīnivāsa Aiyangar, son of Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar of the Śaṭamarshaṇa *gōtra*, etc., which means that they belonged to the Tōḷappar family. It is an elaborate document involving a large number of services and a certain number of gifts both by way of money and of revenue from villages made by a certain number of people, among whom the descendants of Tirumalai Nambi and Tōḷappar figure largely. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the donor himself. The next is No. 93

of the same Ś. year 1489 (8th June 1547). It is an agreement with a Peṇḍli-koḍuku Timmarāja, son of Manumabōli Kamparāja, who is described as belonging to the Ārya *vaṁśa*. whatever that means (probably *Kōmaṭṭis*). He assigned the revenue of three villages amounting to 200 *rēkai pon*, and provided for a large number of services, among which incidentally there is reference to a pavilion built by him. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by him alone. No. 95 refers to the grant of a part of a food-service to a Brahman Kōṇa Mādaiyan said to be an officer in the employ of Baiyappa Nāyaka Krishṇappa Nāyaka, who seems to have been again connected with a Rāmarājayyan, son of Bukkarāja-Tirumalaidēva Mahārāja. We cannot determine the exact relationship of this Rāmarājaiyan, as the document is imperfect. No. 96 is of Ś. 1469 (28th June 1547) and refers to two small donations, of 7 *rēkai pon* each, by a certain Pēraruḷāḷa Aiyan, keeper of the *Tiruvēngadanāthan* garden, and a similar donation by a certain Timmarāja. The donor's share of the *prasāda*, after certain other disposals was to be recieved by him. No. 97 is of Ś. 1469 (8th July 1547). This is a donation by a lady Tirumala Amma, daughter of a Kāmarāju, whose *gōtra*, etc. are given. The donation consisted of 300 *paṇam* to be applied

as usual, the donor's share of the *prasāda* being received by her alone. We next pass on to No.100 of the year *Plavanga* (14th November 1547), and refers to the Viṭṭalēśvara temple recently extended and completed probably. This refers to a donation of 120 *rēkai pon* made up of the rent of 30 collected from buildings built by Poṭlapāṭi Timmarājaiya, a grant of 10 *pon*. made over by pearl merchants, another 12 collected from the rent from the shops on the land of Viṭṭalēśvara temporarily put up in the month of Puraṭṭāśi, making 52 *rēkai pon* in all. Taking along with it the sum of 70 standing over from older donations, this made up 122 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar presumably. No. 101 is of Ś. 1469 (24th November 1547). This is an agreement with Pāpu Timmaiya Mahārāja, son of Āravīṭi Rāmarāzu Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja. Pāpu Timmaiya was the brother of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala already referred to and a cousin of Rāmarāja, and the donation consisted of 100 *rēkai pon* from the village Kōṭṭūr in Pāḷaiyam *Śīrmai* made over by this donor. This together with 1,565 *paṇam*, which the *Kōmaṭṭis* had deposited for the spiritual merit of Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāzu Chinna Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, another cousin, was to be applied as usual and the expenses of the services should be

met from the income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the *Kōmaṭṭis* themselves who made the larger part of deposit. Then we come to No. 102 of Ś. 1469 (1st January 1548). This refers to a deposit made in addition to the one made by Śevvu Nāyakar before by Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāzu Chinna Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja. The deposit amounted to 50 *rēkai pon*, from the income whereof, as usual, the expenses of the services were to be met. The donor's share was to be received by Śevvu Nāyakar. We then pass on to No. 117. This is a record on the *Yamunaitturaivar maṇṭapam* in Tirupati for certain services in the temple of Viṭṭalēśvara by Udayagiri Dēvarāya Bhaṭṭar already referred to. The document is otherwise imperfect. The next one is No. 118 of Ś. 1469 (8th July 1547). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Chinnamarasa, son of Ellamarasa. This is provision for certain services, for which the income of 300 *rēkai pon* from the village Śrī Rāmachandrāpuram, otherwise Venkāyilappaṭṭu in the Koṇḍavīḍu *Śīrmai* was provided. Among the services referred to happen to be one for Viṭṭala Perumāḷ. The donor's share was to be received by Chinnama himself. Then follows No. 120 of Ś. 1470 (6th May 1548). The name of the particular donor is gone in this, and the amount of donation is 300 *rēkai pon* constituting



ORNAMENTED PILLARS IN THE ROYAL PAVILION (*To face page 280*)

the revenues from two villages in the Nellore District, which were formerly given by Achyutarāya as a gift to a Tirumala Sōmayāji. The donor's share of the service was to be received by Venkāpuram Rāyasam Hariyappa's son Lakkarasa. No. 121 is of Ś. 1470 (15th August 1548). This is an agreement with Ēṭṭūr Śrīnivāsan belonging obviously to the well-known Tātāchārya family. He made a deposit of 400 *paṇam*, which, together with another small donation from another of 50, was to be applied as usual for an income. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to the two. No. 122 is of the same Ś. date but of 18th March 1549. This is an agreement with Nārapparāja, son of Nandiyāla Narasingarāja. This family was connected with the family of Rāmarāja as cousins of the same degree as the other family. This refers to the setting up of the *Dvārapālas* in the Gōvindarāja shrine by this Nārapparāja. He also instituted certain services for which he made over the revenues of two villages, Paḷḷippaṭṭu in Nagari *Śīrmai* and Guṇḍipūṇḍi in Anjūr division yielding a revenue of 100 *rēkai pon*, from the income whereof food-services to the *Dvārapālas* were to be provided, the donor's share going to the donor himself. Then we pass on to No. 125 of Ś. 1472 (2nd October 1550). This is a donation by a certain Koṇḍurāja, son of Kōnēṭirāja, son of

Āravīṭi Rāmarāja, again cousin of the well-known Rāmarāja. He made over for the purpose of certain services in the Nammāḻvār shrine for the feeding of certain Vaishṇavas the revenue of eleven villages named, amounting in all to 5,713 *rēkai pon*. This large sum was to be spent in feeding a number of Vaishṇavas in the Āḻvār shrine in the *Rāmānujakūṭa*, and for the payment of a large number of servants and others engaged in the various services. The donor's share of the service was to be made use of for feeding Vaishṇavas in the *Rāmānujakūṭa* he himself built in the Śrī Bhāshyakār *Agrahāra* the inner Aiyangar Street, in Lower Tirupati. The next one is No. 127 of Ś. 1473 (10th May 1551). This is an agreement with one Sūrappa Nāyaka, son of Poṭlappa Nāyaka providing for a pretty large number of services through the year, for which he made a deposit of 400 *rēkai pon*, by making over the revenue of the village Villianallūr in Viḻuppuram *Śīrmai* of Tiruvaḍi-rājya. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to the temple authorities. The next one No. 129 of Ś. 1473 (8th July 1551), is an agreement with a certain Rāyasam Venka-ṭādri, son of Vīramarāja Timmaiya. A number of festivals get to be mentioned in the course of this service, which is really interesting. The first is a *Puraṭṭāśi* festival instituted by Kāḍavan

Perundēvi, the queen of Sundra Pāṇḍya. Then there is an *Aippaśi* festival started by Dēvarāya, Mahārāya, then a *Kārttika* festival by Bukkarāya Mahārāya; then a *Tai* festival started by Krishṇarāya; then a festival in the month of *Māśi* started by one Āriyan; the festival in the month of *Panguni* instituted by Vīra Narasingarāya; a *Chittirai* festival instituted by the accountants of the temple; and a festival in the month of *Āni* instituted by Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. In the same month another festival was instituted by Rāmarāja Chinna Timmarāja. These and a number of other days in the year are mentioned during which certain services had to be rendered for all of which he provided 1,030 *rēkai pon*, the revenue of three villages, 700 from the village Tēśūr in Sahaduvācchēri *Śīrmai*, in Kalavaippaṟṟu, Meyyūrnāḍu, Pālkuṉṟakkōṭṭam, Paḍaivīḍu-rājya; another 200 from the village Vilanjinēṟu, Sahaduvācchēri *Śīrmai*, Taṇikai-nāḍu, Kuṉṟavardhanakkōṭṭam of Chandragiri-rājya, Nārāyaṇapuram, and another 130 from a village Timmasamudram in Gaṇḍikoṭṭa *Śīrmai*. The donor's share of the service was to be made over to him. Then we pass on to No. 133 of Ś. 1473 (10th March 1552). The donor is again Koṇḍurāja, son of Kōnēti Aiyan, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāja. This refers to a number of revenue sources for which he paid the

equivalent, and made further other changes for the total amount of revenue from the *Agrahāra* in Tirupati. The donor's share of these services was to be made over to the Nammāḻvār *Rāmānujakūṭa* in Tirupati. The next document is No. 138 of Ś. 1474 (1st August 1552). This is an agreement with one Tirumalai Nāyaka, son of Bālu Nāyakar of Āṛṇi. For a certain number of services that he instituted, he made over the revenue of 80 *rēkai pon* from a village Tatchūr, Attimalaippaṭṭu on the northern side of the Seyyār in Tatchūr-nāḍu, Gaṇḍagōpālan Paṟṟu, Rājaghambhīra-rājyam in Pālkuṅṟakkōṭṭam of Paḍaivīḍu-rājya in Jayaṁkoṇḍachōḻamaṇḍalam. The donor's share was to be made over to himself. The next one is No. 141 of Ś. 1475 (25th May 1553). This is a benefaction by Koṇḍurāja, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāja Kōnēṭi Aiyan. This refers to a donation of 400 *rēkai pon* to be derived from the village Nagari, the donor's share of the services going to himself alone. No. 143 is a record in a stone in Tirupati regarding the devotion of Śrī Rangarāja to the God. No. 150 coming from Tirumalai of Ś. 1475 (3rd February 1554) is a document which purports to record a grant made, with pouring of water, by Sadāśivaraya. The document is gone into parts, but seems to refer to the disposal of parts of the food-services relating to a service instituted

by Rāmarāya and Achyutadēvamahārāya in favour of a certain Brahman. More could not well be made out of the document. No. 151 is of the same Ś. year, but of date 15th February 1554. This is a donation by Peṇḍli-koḍuku Timmarāja we have already referred to, son of Manumabōli Kamparāja. He made over the revenue of three villages named amounting to 200 *rēkai pon*. But, as there was some obstruction in the way of this revenue coming in regularly, he made over the revenues of another *grāma* (village) Vaṭṭalūr in the Pādirikkuppam *Śīrmai* yielding 200 *rēkai pon*. No. 153 is of Ś. 1475 again (19th February 1554.) This is a donation by Tiruveṇṇāḍaiyan and Tiruvēngaḍaiyan, both sons of Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar. As usual it is an elaborate document laying down the whole details. They refer to two separate donations by the brothers bringing in an income of 730 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the produce was to be received by one of the brothers. No. 154 is of Ś. 1473 (2nd July 1554). The donor here is Koṇḍurāja, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmarāja Kōnēṭi Aiyan, of the same Āravīṭi family. This is a grant made by him to the *Rāmānujakūṭa* in Tirupati. This refers to a grant made by Sadāśivarāya, for his own merit, to the *Rāmānujakūṭa* of Nammāḻvār. This refers to the revenue from a certain number

of taxes which have been made over for the purpose of this *Rāmānujakūṭa*, and this gift was intimated by a letter to the various governors of the divisions concerned. This document just confirms this gift. A number of these minor taxes are mentioned, as also the number of divisions round about Tirupati. Sixteen such divisions happen to be mentioned which might all be included in the central region, the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam proper and round about. The document contains the following interesting details, that this order was communicated to Tirupati and to the *Dorais*, officials in charge, of the districts (*Śīrmai*). There is the further statement that 200 bulls bearing the stamp of the swan (*Haṁsa*) were also made over for the purpose of doing the carrying work. The next inscription No. 155 is of the Ś. year 1476 (11th November 1554) and is an agreement with Āravīṭi Rāmarāja, son of Śrī Rangarāja, son of Bukkarāja Rāmarāja. This is a gift of four villages, namely Singaḷabavi in Raichūr *Śīrmai*, Vaḷagoḷil village in the Muḍgal *Śīrmai*, and two villages, Yāraḷacchēri and Mākāḷippaṭṭu in the Pēripākkam *Śīrmai* yielding a revenue of 4,000 *rēkai pon*. This makes provision for large quantities of the articles to be supplied from the treasury for the food-services instituted. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be made

over to the occupants of the Nammāḻvār *Rāmānujakūṭa* built by Koṇḍurāja, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timmarāja Kōnēṭi Aiyan, a cousin of Rāmarāja. No. 156 is of date Ś. 1477 (14th April 1555) This is a grant by another member of the Āravīṭi family, Pāpu Timmarāja, son of an uncle of Rāmarāja. There is reference to a *maṇṭapa* constructed in the east street of Tirumalai by him, and makes provision for a certain number of services to the God on certain occasions when taken round to the *maṇṭapa*. He made over the revenue of a village called Vēnāḍu, the name of the *Śīrmai* is gone, yielding a revenue of 250 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be distributed as of old. The next one of importance is No. 158 of Ś. 1479 (14th September 1557). This is a benefaction by the king of Travancore (Tiruvaḍi-rājya) for the spiritual merit of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Viṭṭalarāja, another cousin of Rāmarāja. He made over the revenues of a village Kuḻayapāṭṭam in a division, the name of which is gone, on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi yielding a revenue of 350 *rēkai pon* for a service both on the hill and in Lower Tirupati. The donor's share of the services was to be given to one Śrīnivāsan, son of Nambiyār (temple priest) Timmaiya of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra* and Vaikhānasa *sūtra*. This document of A.D. 1557 is of importance as confirming

the extension of Vijayanagar authority down to Cape Comorin, and even into the kingdom of Travancore at the time. It was about this extension and assertion of Vijayanagar authority that Father Xavier, and the Portuguese priests generally, complain in their correspondence as interfering with their free conversion of the fisher-folk of the coast. The next one is No. 159 of Ś. 1479 (13th January 1558). This comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine, and is an agreement with Tiruvēnāthan, son of the well-known Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar. As usual with these Tallapākkam grants, it provides for a number of services through the year in complete detail. The total expenses were 980 *pon* for which he assigned the revenue of the village of Kōṭṭūr belonging to Śerumāhaṇai in Pērambākka-rājyam. The donor's share of the service was to be received by himself alone. The next one is No. 161 of Ś. 1480 (19th May 1558). This is a donation by Abbalaiya, son of Karaṇikkam Kāmarasa. This refers to a garden which he constructed on the road to Chandragiri to the east of the new tank called Rāmānuja, and to the south of the garden of a Chaṇḍigai Basavarasa. It makes provision for a certain number of services to God in the garden on certain festival days. The provision was 155 *rēkai pon* and 8¼ *paṇam* for which he made over

the revenues of a certain number of villages and parts of villages, of which one village was whole, and the rest shares of people in the village amounting to $23\frac{3}{4}$. The interesting detail is given that these yielded 30 *rēkai pon* for each plot of 100 *kuḻi* of land. The donor's share was to be received by him alone. Then we pass on to No. 164, which is an interesting document without date, but referring to the year *Kālayukti* in Sadāśiva's reign. It is a record in stone in some part of the hill, which makes over a garden for the purpose of Śēnai Mudaliyār, that is, the divine controller of the household of the God. The next one is No. 167 of Ś. 1483 (5th December 1561). The donor is Rāyasam Venkaṭādri Aiyan and Kōṇappaiyan, both of them sons of a Timmarasu, son of Musalimaḍugu Vīraṇarasa. This makes provision of 526 *rēkai pon* by Venkaṭādri Ayyan, and 120 by Kōṇappaiyan making a total provision of 646 for which they made over the revenues of a village Āppūr in the Chingleput District, and a number of other villages, the names of some of which are gone; but there is a whole list given. Some of the villages granted have had to be rejected for some reason or other, and others substituted when they became unyielding, thus making over land yielding 646 *rēkai pon* between them. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to

be received by the donors themselves. The next one No. 168 is of Ś. 1483 (15th December 1561). The donor of this document is Tirumalai Aiyan, son of a Śrī Rangarāja of the Āravīṭi family. The details given indicate unmistakably Tirumalai, the brother of Rāma. He is said to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* in the *Champaka Prākāra* of the Tirumalai temple. The *maṇṭapa* goes by his name even now. He made a large number of provisions for services through the year for the expenses of which he made over to the treasury 16,500 *paṇam*, the donor's share of the *prasāda* going to him. Next follows No. 171 of Ś. 1484 (28th July 1562). The donor is a Srīnivāsa Aiyangar, son of Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar of the Ēṭṭūr Śoṭṭai family. His donation amounted to 482 *rēkai pon* for services on the hill, and 710 for the Gōvindarāja shrine. The document is imperfect. It would appear that he made over a certain number of villages or their revenues, in the interior circuit of the district round the hill. Incidentally it refers to two festivals instituted, one by Sāḷuva Narasimha, and another by a Sāḷuva *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mallaiya Dēva Mahārāja in the 15th century. Then follows No. 172. This is a record coming from the *Kapila Tīrtham* in Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1485 (30th January 1563). This is an agreement between the *stānattār* of the Kapilēśvaram temple and Śevvusāni, daughter of Angāḍi, a dancing-girl of Tirupati.

She set up an image of Vignēśvara in the dancing-hall of the Kapilēśvara temple, and made provision for the daily services of this Gaṇēśa. The provision made was 200 *paṇam* from the income of which the temple was to supply all that was required for the services. The next is No. 173 of Ś. 1485 (26th January 1564). This is an agreement again with the Abbalaiya, son of Kāmarasappa, the Karaṇīka already referred to, and makes provision for large number of services in full detail. He paid 149 *rēkai pon* to the temple. For the merit of another Chauṇḍappaiya, son of Śinga Timmarasa Ayya of Nochil-paṇḍāram, a donation of 150 *rēkai pon* was made. He seems to have made over also the revenues of a village Tiruvēngaḍapuram in Gaṇḍikōṭṭai *Śīrmai* and a cash deposit of 150 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the respective donors. The next one is from Lower Tirupati of Ś. 1465 (29th January 1574). The document is rather difficult to understand. It refers to an agreement between the *stānattār* of Tirupati with one of the Āravīṭi princes and a number of Brahmans, and refers to a service instituted by Achyutadēvarāya Mahārāya from which these Brahmans were receiving a share. Otherwise the document is imperfect. This brings us to the end of the records of the reign of Sadāśivarāya.

CHAPTER XI.

CONDITION OF TIRUPATI IN SADASIVA'S REIGN.

THE NUMBER AND CHARACTER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SADASIVA'S REIGN. It would be clear from the summary of these records made above that the number of records relating to, and actually dated in, the reign of Sadāśivarāya amount to a comparatively large number, and even a considerable variety. Of these, however, the actual documents, that is, documents of donations, by Sadāśiva himself are comparatively a small number and do not exhibit either the magnificence or the devotion of his two predecessors, Achyuta and Krishṇa; and the really more important documents are records of gifts by the princes of the Āravīṭi family, and make large and costly provision for numbers of services. Taken individually, they do not amount to very many for any one member of this family, who actively carried on the administration of the empire in the name of Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya, who was actually ruling. But even so, these are of great importance, and show the generally prevalent feeling of devotion and attachment to the temple, even among the members of the ruling family. Of course the large number of

private benefactions is an indication of the devotion of the people. The character of the benefactions remains the same throughout and every donation made, however small, is made as in the previous periods in such a manner as to contribute directly to the increase of the permanent resources of the temple. In the course therefore of these years when liberal donations were made to the temple, judging only from those of which records are made in the shrine itself, we find that these amount to a large number and add very considerably to the annual income of the shrine. Judging by the documents as a whole we get the impression that the temple suffered no molestation of any kind, and no interference from any hostile party. This would mean that the frontiers of the empire were thoroughly well-guarded and enemies of the empire were kept out of it altogether. Of course, we cannot take it that the inscriptions from the temple at Tirupati give us anything like a full record of the events of the reign of Sadāśivarāya. Of course the temple records could give us only such information as concerns the temple, and of which records happen to be made in the temple itself. But if there had been any attacks, or any incursions with a view to plundering the temple, such as might well have taken place if enemies such

as the Muhammadans on the northen frontier found entry into the region round the temple, some mention of it can be expected. We may therefore take it that no such misfortune befell the temple of Tirupati during Sadāśiva's reign. We have record in history, however, of an effort made by the Portuguese deliberately to conduct an invasion and plunder the temple, because rumours of its great riches had reached them across to the West coast. We have an account of this invasion in the histories of the Portuguese in the country. Krishṇadēvarāya had got into an alliance with the Portuguese, and that seems to have held good and continued in force even through the reign of Achyutarāya.

ATTEMPT AT AN INVASION OF TIRUPATI BY THE PORTUGUESE: Comparatively early in the reign of Sadāśiva, whatever the actual reason, this does not appear to have been considered as of force. According to Fariya ye Sousa, Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, actually arranged to send an expedition, naturally by way of the sea, consisting of 45 ships under 27 captains with the express objective of plundering the temple of *Tremele*, and this place is said to have been in "the kingdom of Bisnaga". According to the historian heaps of gold and riches were believed to have been stored there. The expedition however

is said to have proved abortive, and ended in the plunder of some of the temples in the kingdom of Travancore, though it is said on the other side that the invasion proved a failure because Rāmarāya marched down at the head of his army towards Mylapore and kept the ememy at arm's length. *Here is what F. C. Danvers the historian of the Portuguese in India has to say about it :—

"Meanwhile, the Governor fitted out a fleet of forty-five sail, with a force of 3,000 seamen and soldiers. The object of this expedition, which was kept as secret as possible, was to rob the pagoda of Tremele, twelve miles inland from St. Thome de Meliapore, in the kingdom of Bisnaga. In this the Gevernor was disappointed, as, owing to stress of weather, he was unable to carry out the projected undertaking."

About the same incident R. S. Whiteway † in his work, "*the Rise of Portuguese Power in India*" has the following :—

"The Governor's next exploit ranks high even among those of Martim Afanso de Sousa. The bewildered historians have supposed royal orders to account for it, but those orders have

---

*F. C. Danvers ; *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 463—64.

† R. S. Whiteway ; *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 282—84.

never been produced or quoted. The Conjeevaram temples stand some 40 miles inland from Madras, and were at the time of which we are writing, in the territory of the Raja of Vijayanagara. They were visited regularly by the Rajas themselves, and there was a fair, partly religious partly mercantile, of the character common all over India, held at the full moon of the month of August. Kanchi, as it is called in the sacred writings, is one of the 7 holy places of India, ranking with Benares, Mathura, Hardwar, Ajudhya, Dwaraka and Ujain. The Portuguese calculated the attendance at the fair as 3 or 4 millions. This number was perhaps exaggerated; but at that time the Muhammadans had not penetrated to the south of India, and the attendance was probably large; at the present day it averages half a million. Enriched by this annual stream of pilgrims, and indowed by the munificence of the Hindu Rajas of Vijayanagara, the wealth of the temples, two of the largest of which had been built only 35 years before, in 1509, was very great.

It is possible that rumours of the wealth of these temples had reached Portugal; it is certain that they must have reached Martim Afonso de Sousa when he held the command on the Coromandel Coast in the time of Nuno da Cunha, and

although they were in the territory of, and venerated by, an ally, De Sousa, in the rains of 1543, organised an expedition to rob them. As such an attack would rouse the whole coast, preparations were made to carry off the relics of St. Thomas, and the Portuguese, mostly outlaws, that trafficked, to the east of Cape Comorin. The fleet which sailed early in September was scattered and delayed by a storm, and although its destination was supposed to be a profound secret, enough had leaked out to make the Raja of Vijayanagara uneasy. When therefore, the Portuguese rounded Cape Comorin they found so large a force collected that any attack was out of the question. As a bandit who had not been glorified by success, De Sousa, returned with his force to Kayankulam."

It will be seen from the above quotation that Whiteway makes the objective of the expedition Conjivaram, while some of the details that he actually does give would hardly agree with the place. He quotes however the authority of Correa which really sheds more light. That extract quoted is "He says he attended the fair, that every pilgrim had to have his head shaved. The barbers sat under some large trees, and the heaps of hair hid them. These heaps sold for £ 200 a year, to make false hair. The heap of

money the pilgrims left soon grew as high as 10 measures of wheat"—Correa, IV. 301. Mr. Whiteway himself testifies that Correa is nothing, if not descriptive. The details given would far better agree with Tirupati than with Conjivaram, and the details of shaving and the income therefrom, etc., would apply to Tirupati now or at any other time far sooner than to Conjivaram. It is quite clear therefore that the objective of this plundering project of the Portuguese was Tirupati, the fabulous* riches of which must have reached the Portuguese governor when he was in command on the Coromandel coast, although he could not have been altogether beyond reach of the information even at Goa. The date of this expedition is, according to Portuguese authorities A.D. 1543, and is very close to the best period of the activity of the proselytisation work of Francis Xavier in Tinnevelly. The expedition which sailed round Cape Comorin discovered that the forces marshalled by the enemy on the Coromandel coast were so great that the Portuguese ships were frightened into not proceeding any further than the Gulf of Mannar which they had just entered.

THE GREAT SOUTHERN INVASION OF RAMARAJA VITTALA OF VIJAYANAGAR. It is this expedition, and the complaints that must have reached about

* K. G. Jayne; *Vasco Da Gama* pp. 292–93.

the wholesale conversions of Xavier, that should have reached Vijayanagar, and brought about that great Southern invasion under the Vijayanagar generals Rāmarāja Viṭṭala and his brother Chinna Timma, who were actively occupied for more than ten years till at last they had succeeded ultimately in bringing the whole of the peninsula under the authority of the empire of Vijayanagar. The district of Tinnevelly was the bone of contention between the Madura Viceroyalty of Vijayanagar and Travancore, and the Portuguese activity made it too much for the Travancore rulers to assert their authority as against them; and the Travancore government had already offended the empire by giving shelter to Sāḷuva Nāyaka, the rebel, against whom an expedition went under Achyuta soon after his accession. This was followed later by the rebellion of Tumbicchi Nāyaka, and operations had to be undertaken against him. It was this latter incident that brought about this invasion which operated successfully in the south when the Rāja of Tiruvaḍi made grants to the temple at Suchīndram in honour of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala in 1447. He also granted a village on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi, and arranged for certain services in the temple of Tirupati in the year 1457, already referred to above. The vastness of the expedition, its continued activity for about a

decade, and the complaint that the letters of Xavier make that the invasions of the Baḍagas so called, alike indicate their serious character, and it must be said to the credit of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala, and, after him, his brother that they succeeded thoroughly in bringing the whole of the peninsula under the authority of Vijayanagar as also the state of Travancore. This state, placed, somewhat disadvantageously in point of locality, and with resources not equal to those of the Portuguese, suffered a great deal and was always in an unsafe position notwithstanding the successful opposition that they occasionally set up as against these. What is more, their inability to counteract the proselytising policy of the Portuguese and the plundering expeditions that the Portuguese often undertook against the temples of the land, showed the precariousness of their position, and Vijayanagar extension of authority over the state therefore was a blessing to be thankful for. The name of the ruler who submitted himself to Vijayanagar and thus exhibited his gratitude to Rāmarāja Viṭṭala is not stated beyond possibility of doubt in any of our authorities. Probably this ruler was the person who calls himself Śrī Vīra Rāma Mārthāṇḍavarman in the Padmanābhasvāmi inscription, though he is called Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma in the Suchīndram inscription.*

* Nagamaiyar; *History of Travancore*, Vol. I, p. 299.

Even the temple inscriptions of Tirupati do give us an echo of this great activity of Vijayanagar in the distant south, and account satisfactorily for a pious donation by the distant Rāja of Travancore to Tirupati, for the spiritual merit of Rāmarāja Viṭṭala. The occasion that called for imperial intervention in the south was grave and emergent. The expedition that was sent out was equal to the demands of the occasion, and the command was entrusted to the most capable among the Vijayanagar generals of the time. The objective of the expedition must have been to put an end to the ever recurring trouble arising from the petty Pāṇḍya chiefs (*Pāḷaiyagars* of a later period) in the southern part of the Madura viceroyalty, which had not yet been successfully or thoroughly incorporated into the Nāyakship, notwithstanding the fact that the Nāyakship was created and was under the government of capable viceroys for much more than a decade. The action called for therefore was not merely the repelling of a buccaneering expedition which may have been the immediately provoking cause; it had for its principal object the bringing of the whole of the southern part of the viceroyalty of Madura under the imperial administration thereby putting down incidentally the mischief, the political mischief, that was being systematically wrought by the wholesale conversions of the

fisherfolk of the coast. These conversions were held for the time to involve a change of political loyalty from the local rulers of the country to the king of Portugal. This certainly must have added to the gravity of the operations of the Catholic missionaries. Travancore (the Tiruvaḏi Rājya) country hemmed in between the Portuguese attacking by way of the sea, and the rebel chieftains along the slopes of the Ghats in the Pāṇḍya country was certainly in a bad condition, and needed assistance. The friendly reception that was given to the missionaries by this country was taken advantage of with a view to detaching the portion of the kingdom on this side of the Ghats altogether from their authority. Hence the great gravity of the position and the vastness of the expedition to counteract it. The expedition was thoroughgoing in character and brought the whole of the southern half of the Pāṇḍya country under the authority of the Nāyak of Madura, Viśvanātha, and even his son, Krishṇappa whose name we find in the operations connected with this expedition. It was so thoroughgoing in character that the Portuguese buccaneers were frightened into not advancing beyond the Gulf of Mannar; the proselytising operations received a check and in consequence the political danger of Tinnevelly being taken away from the empire and ultimately annexed to

Portugal, if Portugal was in a conditton to do so, in the generation following. Rāmarāja Viṭṭala's operations were thoroughly successful and they achieved all that was intended to be. There is an echo of this in the inscription of the time where it is stated clearly that it involved fighting from the banks of the Tāmravarṇi a considerable way up along the region of the Ghats and the expedition could come to the end of its mission only in the region of the Raichūr Doab, Muḍgal and places near about on the borders of the Adil Shāhi kingdom on the one side and the Portuguese frontier on the other. The importance of the achievement being what it is, it need not be surprising to us that the Mahārāja of Tiruvaḍi Dēśam should have shown his gratitude to the imperial general by arranging for the service in the temple at Tirupati that he actually did. The village involved was on the banks of the Tāmravarṇi, the donor of the service was in Trivandrum, and the person honoured was the imperial general, whose authority extended all over the empire from Cape Comorin to the Bāhmani borders. The empire was in great danger and the thoroughgoing reassertion of its authority over the whole vast extent of it, is an achievement very creditable to the empire over which Sadāśiva ruled.

TIRUPATI PROSPEROUS UNDER SADASIVA'S RULE. While therefore we may well say that royal patronage directly was not as high in the reign of Sadāśiva as in those of his two predecessors, the private benefactions and benefactions by the officers of the state were perhaps far more, and contributed to increase the wealth of the temple by the wise scheme adopted in respect of these benefactions pretty early in the history of the temple. Among these private donors we find the Āchāryas and Āchāryapurushas of Tirupati, the private citizens, the mercantile communities, the temple accountants, temple servants like the Bhaṭṭars (those engaged in offering worship) and even dancing girls attached to the temples. The Tallapākkam family in the next generation to that of Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar also distinguished itself by munificent gifts. It would therefore be nothing strange if the wealth of the temple had shown an increase and proved a little too tempting for the greediness of the distant Portuguese even. Sadāśiva's reign continued beyond the battle of Talikota so-called, of which we find no echo whatever in the inscriptions at Tirupati. One of the benefactions of Sadāśiva is associated indirectly with Tirupati, as he is said to have ordered the repairing of some of the temples etc., needing them in Kamalāpuram near Cuddapah, and, in the course of his return

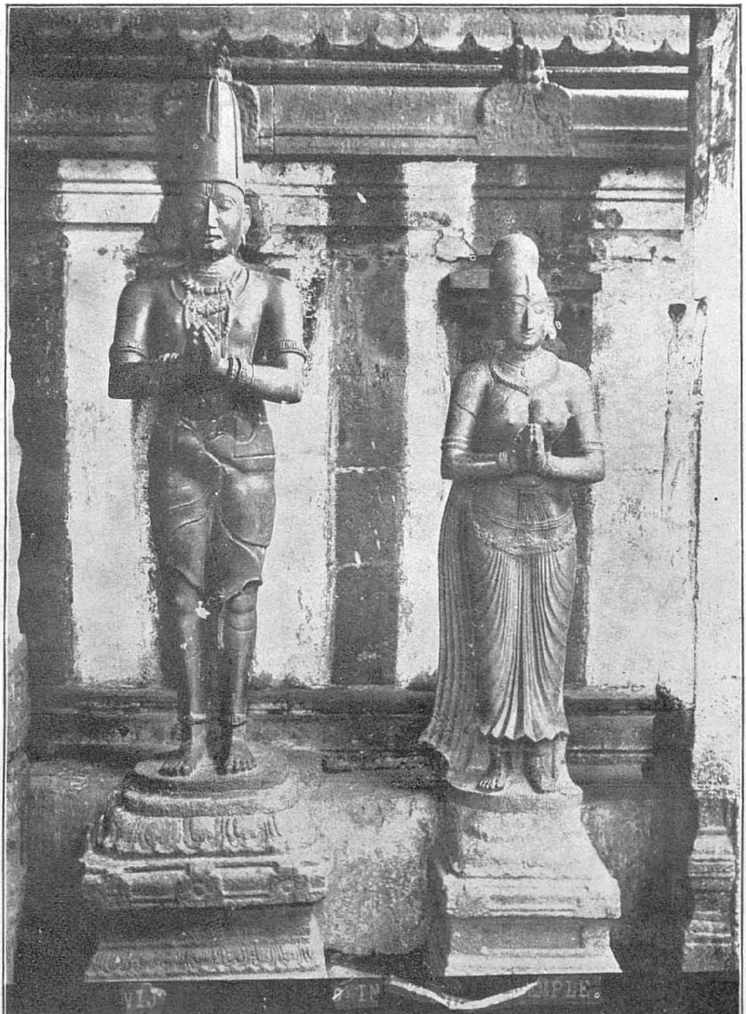
journey from Tirupati, he granted a village called Bhāshyapuram to the Jīyar of Ahōbalam who is called Śaṭakōpa, the second of the name in the list of the Jīyars of the *Maṭha* and the fifth in succession from the founder, Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa. We cannot well expect any reference to it in the Tirupati inscriptions; but we do find references to this pontiff of the *Maṭha*, who is referred to as the recipient of the donor's share of the food-service in a record or two, thus establishing beyond a doubt that the Jīyar, contemporary of Ahōbalam of this ruler, was the fifth in the Vaishṇava apostolic succession. We shall now pass on to the records of his successors in the temple.

SADASIVA'S SUCCESSORS WERE HIS OWN ARAVITI OFFICERS. Sadasiva's region seems to have extended to as late as A.D. 1575. But we have already noticed that his rule was more or less nominal, and the actual administration was being actively carried on by the family of the Āravīṭi chiefs, of whom Rāmarāja the son-in-law of Krishṇarāya, was the chief, loyally assisted by his two younger brothers, Tirumala and Venkaṭādri. But the Āravīṭi family was one with a tradition of loyal service to the empire in the generations following the reign of the great Dēvaraya II of the first dynasty. Āravīṭi Bukka

is the name we hear of along with the Sāḷuva chiefs and even the Tuḷu chiefs, the ancestors of the ruling family. It was a family of veterans who rendered distinguished service to the empire. At the time to which we have now arrived, the family consisted of three or four branches with a number of distinguished representatives; each one of them contributed in his own way to the maintenance of the empire, and prevented it from giving way to the pressure to which it was subjected by its enemies both internal and external. The Bāhmani kingdoms were there in the north, though broken up into five. Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were two of the five divisions which were actively in contact with the empire, often hostile, though the one or the other showed an inclination to be friendly when pressed by the other. The existence of the Portuguese in power in the north-west of the empire was a disturbing factor. Ever since they entered into a treaty with Krishṇa in the earlier years of his reign, the Portuguese had been at peace, as they were vitally interested in standing well with Vijayanagar for the purposes of their trade generally, and the horse trade in particular, in both of which they were almost naturally hostile to the Muhammadans. Their diplomacy had the object of playing Bijapur against Vijayanagar with both of which they had to be in touch. They showed

an inclination to observe the terms of the treaty till Martim Alfonso de Sousa organised the expedition we referred to above, and the treaty was renewed in 1546. The internal disturbances of which the most dangerous happened to be in the distant south had been quelled, and the territories involved had been brought under control, as was stated already about 1557–58, which date synchronises with the foundation of the Nāyakship of Madura as a full-blown viceroyalty. We see therefore that, notwithstanding the unauthorised assumption of authority which may even be assumed to amount to a usurpation, these chieftains who made themselves responsible for the government of the empire, exerted themselves to maintain the integrity of the empire and keep the traditions of that imperial rule on the same basis as before. When we therefore speak of the successors of Sadāśiva, we merely pass on without a transition to the records of some of those who continued in authority without a break while the imperial family passes out of existence with Sadāśiva. This subversive change in the character of the rule of the empire was brought about by the calamity that befell the empire in the battle against the united resources of the Muhammadan Sultans of the north in the battle miscalled Talikota, which took place in 1565, and made

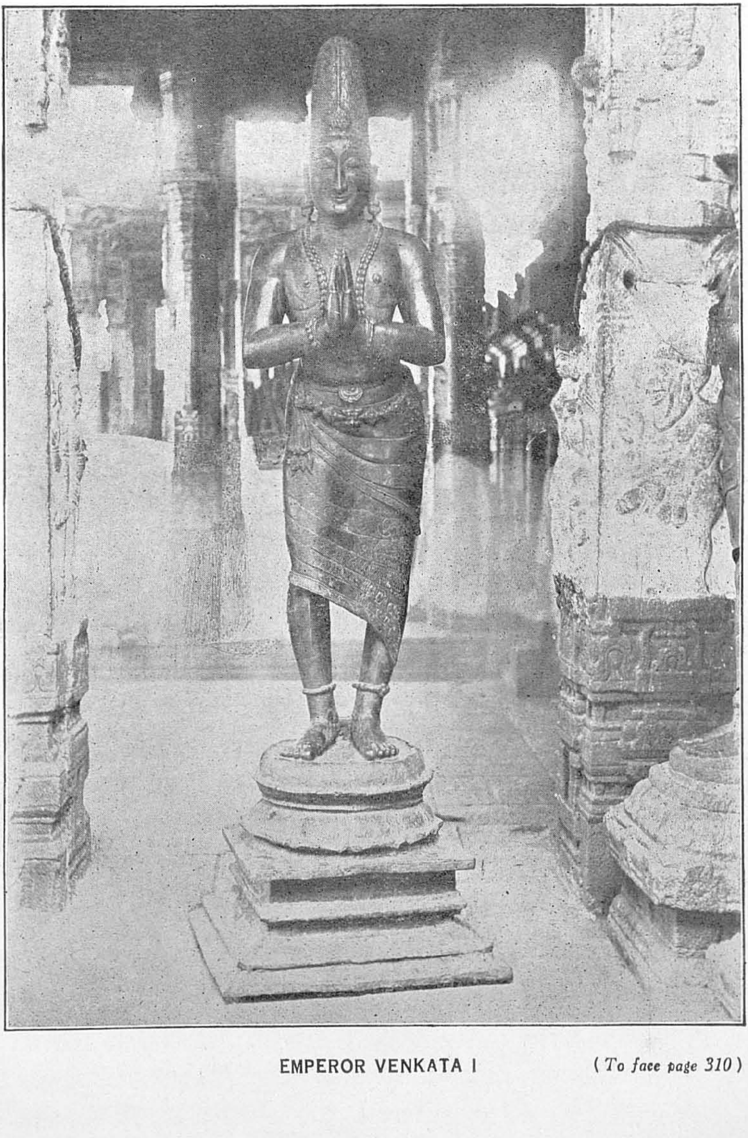
Vijayanagar almost impossible for the capital. The relation between Rāmarāya and the Sultans of the Bāhmani kingdom varied from time to time. Rāma played upon the jealousies of these Sultans and took sides by playing the one against the other to the detriment of all of them, particularly as between his two immediate but jealous neighbours, the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. He took the side of the one or the other as occasion called for, and the weight of his power in favour of the side which he joined, contributed ultimately to make him the arbiter of the destinies of these kingdoms, till at last they saw plainly the dangerous trend of their policy and ultimately united to overthrow once for all their powerful neighbour. The battle ultimately went against the Hindus, and Tirumala sought safety for the capital of the empire by removing the treasures and the remnant of his army to a more distant and better protected place, Penugoṇḍa. By adopting a cautious policy and carefully husbanding his resources, he was able to regain, in the course of the ten years following, much of the influence that his brother enjoyed, and the empire of Vijayanagar still continued intact though badly hurt by the calamitous battle which is to be called Rākshasatangaḍi from the two villages or village sites on which the actual battle really took place about fifty miles



EMPEROR TIRUMALA AND HIS QUEEN (*To face page 308*)

to the South of Talikota. He was able quietly to hand over the empire to his successor, his own son, although the activities of his Muhammadan neighbours across the frontier were gaining strength. Tirumala had four sons actually, the eldest of whom seems to have died early. He thought the best way of arranging for the successful government of the empire was to let the elder surviving son Śrī Ranga suceeed him as emperor with his headquarters at Penugoṇḍa, and give to the second of his sons, Rāma, the important viceroyalty of Śrīrangapatām, and let his third son Venkaṭapati, be the governor of the remaining part of the empire extending southwards from Chandragiri which he made his headquarters. Śrī Ranga succeeded some time about 1575. Śrī Ranga's reign was so badly molested by the repeated invasions of the Muhammadans, the Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa forces from the north, that, at one time, they advanced as far as the walls of Penugoṇḍa itself; and the Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Ibrahim Qutub Shah occupied the territory extending eastwards from Adoni including the Vaishṇava centre Ahōbalam, which was in Muhammadan occupation from 1578 to 1584. When his reign came to an end his younger brother at Śrīrangapatām, Rāma had already died, and the last brother Venkaṭapati succeeded as emperor. Rāma's elder son Tirumala succeeded to his father's viceroyalty at Śrīrangapatām.

VENKATAPATIRAYA, THE LAST GREAT EMPEROR OF VIJAYANAGAR. Venkaṭapati was the last great emperor, and his reign which extended from 1586 to 1614, was in many respects a brilliant epoch in the history of Vijayanagar notwithstanding the injury inflicted upon it by the great battle. Three rulers followed him in succession and carried the imperial name down to about 1672–73. But the empire suffered a vital injury by his death, far more damaging to the permanence of the empire than the battle of Rākshasatangaḍi itself. He had no children, at least so he thought, and had brought up the younger of the two sons of Rāma at Śrīrangapātam by name Ranga, who lived with him at Chandragiri. He had apparently designed him for the succession, and had even nominated him his successor in a way by calling him *Chikkarāya*. This naturally provoked intrigues at court, and occasion was found in the claim put forward by one of the queens who brought up a baby and called it her own child, Venkaṭapati suffering it without any timely action on his part. Notwithstanding the fact that he should have been a comparatively young boy when Venkaṭa died, there were interested people enough among the nobles to take his side and bring about a civil war. This is the famous war of succession that practically dismembered the empire and made



EMPEROR VENKATA I

(*To face page 310*)

the great viceroys, instead of being the pillars of the empire as hitherto, the great disintegrating forces against which the last ruler had to struggle might and main incessantly for a period of about thirty years. Venkaṭa's successor, one of the sons of the Chikkarāya we referred to, by name Rāma, saved from the complete massacre of the family brought about by Gobbūri Jaggarāja the brother of the queen whose son set up the claim to the succession, by a loyal officer known by the name Yāchama Nāyaka. He found support in the great Nāyak Raghunātha of Tanjore among the viceroys. It was through the exertions of the Nāyak Raghunātha, and the active assistance of this officer Yāchama Nāyaka that Rāma succeeded to the throne, and was anointed to the empire at Kumbhakōṇam as a fugitive prince, in memory whereof the temple called Rāmasvāmi temple in Kumbhakōṇam was built, and there is even an actual representation of an *abishēka* of this prince on one of the pillars of the temple. Rāma's reign which seems to have lasted from 1616 to almost 1630 was one of continual struggle between the Gobbūri chiefs who were the principal rebels, and Yāchama Nāyaka the loyal lieutenant of the empire under Rāma. Rāma was too young to begin with, and seems to have had no children; but had taken occasion to nominate two collaterals as his sccessors

in 1622. One of them by name Venkaṭa succeeded him immediately, and had a reign of ten or twelve years terminating in the year 1642, when the other nominee Śrī Ranga IV, succeeded in October of the year 1642. The reign of Venkaṭādri continued feeble and uneventful, the viceroys having their own way and often fighting among themselves, the empire exercising comparatively little influence. One event of great importance in his reign was the permission accorded to the East India Company to build a factory of theirs in a coastal town which ultimately developed into the Madras of later times. The Charter that was granted through the good offices of his minister Dāmarla Venkaṭa, his brother-in-law, and the governor of Poonamallee, Dāmarla Ayya, a brother of this Venkaṭa, was confirmed by Śrī Ranga in 1645. This grant thus laid the foundations of the British empire in India.

SRI RANGA'S EFFORT TO REVIVE THE EMPIRE. Śrī Ranga was not inclined to play the passive part of his predecessor, and wished to gain back the old prestige for the empire which was now being torn to pieces by the activities of the great viceroys on the one side, and the devastating invasions of the Muhammadan forces on the other. Gōlkoṇḍa and

Bijapur had come to an agreement between themselves, recognised by the emperor Shāh Jahān, that they might extend their territory into the Hindu empire of the south, Bijapur pursuing its activities above the Ghāts and Gōlkoṇḍa below. Between these two the nether millstone and the other, the empire was very badly placed even for mere peaceful existence. The first step at disintegration was taken while yet the great Venkaṭa was alive by a petty chief under the viceroyalty of Śrīrangapatām, overthrowing the viceroy and annexing Śrīrangapatām to his patrimony. More than that, he carefully fortified himself by obtaining the sanction of Venkaṭa in 1612 to his ruling from Śrīrangapatām, thus in a way legitimising his position. Thereafter Mysore stood almost outside the empire, though not in any fully recognised fashion. Other viceroys, among them particularly the viceroy of Madura, showed a similar inclination, though the opportunity for carrying it out to success did not present itself either to Madura, or in fact to any other of these viceroys, though all of them were anxious to avail themselves of any opportunity that may present itself. It was against these forces that Śrī Ranga struggled, and struggled with all his might. The struggle proved in vain and his affairs proved so distressing that, at one time in the course of the struggle, he offered to become

a Muslim, if the condition was insisted upon, if only the emperor Shāh Jahān, who had begun to exercise a considerable amount of influence in the affairs of the Deccan, would support his legitimate claims to the position of emperor of Vijayanagar. This was in 1656, a date when he is said to have recovered Tirupati from some enemies who took possession of it, surely Gōlkoṇḍa. He struggled on for yet another fifteen years and more, and passed out of view. A record has come down to us on a silver plate, though not as yet quite well attested, according to which, on application by Śrī Ranga's widow and her two children, Shivāji made a grant for the maintenance of the royal family. We also come across with a few other inscriptions of Vijayanagar emperors relating to the very last years of the seventeenth century. Thereafter we cease to have any record of the imperial family, and it is the viceroys of the empire in their own name, and on their own authority, that figure in the transactions of the years following. That brings us to the end of the Vijayanagar empire, and with that empire, we lose light also in regard to Tirupati from the records of this dynasty.

CHAPTER XII.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SADASIVA'S SUCCESSORS.

Coming down to the inscriptions of the period following Sadāśiva and covering the reigns of his successors, we find in Volume VI of the Dēvastānam inscriptions only one inscription of Ś. 1483 (15th December 1561) of Tirumalarāja, the second of three brothers who were practically ruling the empire under Sadāśiva. The record comes from Tirupati and has reference to the building of a *maṇṭapa* just to the south of the flagstaff in the inner enclosure of the Tirumalai temple. The pavilion still exists and goes by the name *Tirumala*. He seems to have constructed that, particularly with a view to certain festivals instituted by Sāḷuva Narasimha so long ago as 1473. He provided for the carrying round of the deities on the *Vasanta Utsava* instituted by Sāḷuva Narasimha, and a number of other festivals through the year. There is not much else that is of importance that is recorded here except that the extract in Telugu following mentions the recording of these services in stone and recounts the conquests made by Tirumala, particularly his repelling and keeping

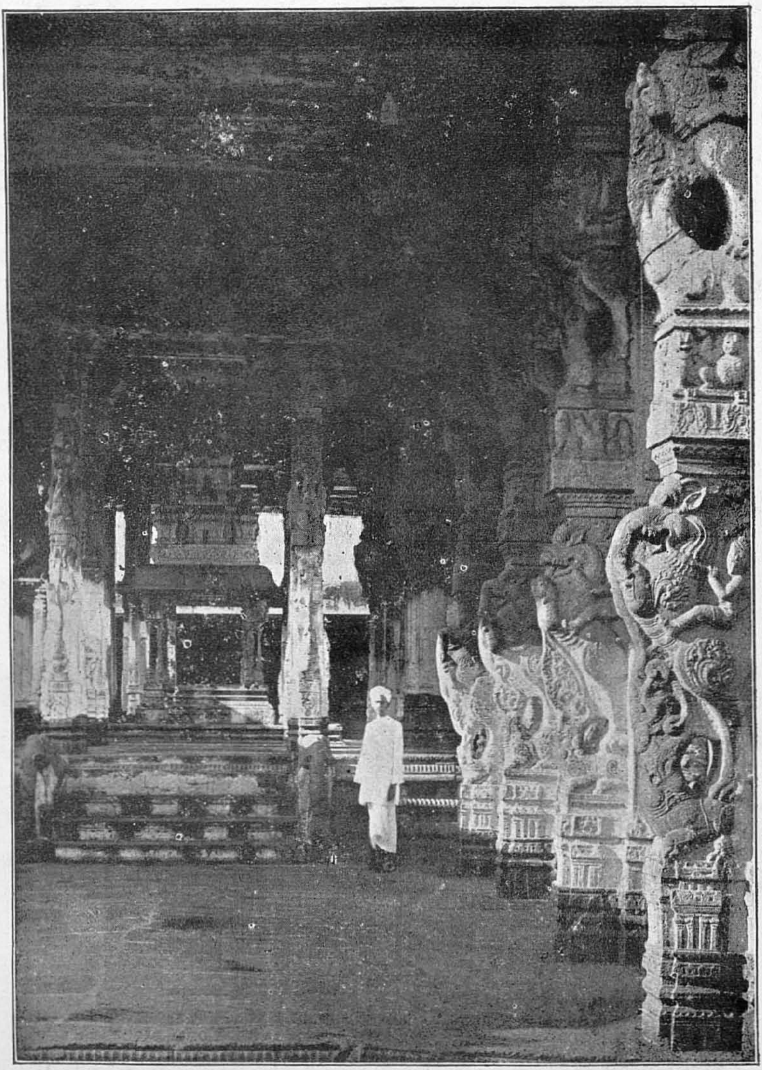
in check of the expanding power of the Muhammadans. The year 1561 may be regarded as the high-watermark of Vijayanagar power, and the somewhat arrogant assertion of that power in an action that had to be undertaken against the Nizām Shāhis of Āhmadnagar in which the Nizām Shāhi capital itself suffered a siege. The next document takes us almost by a jump to Ś. 1501 (27th November 1575) quite ten years after the battle generally called Talikota in 1565, which resulted in the removal of the capital from Vijayanagar. This is a private grant by a certain Komāṇḍūr Appaiyar, son of a certain Appā Aiyangar in a place in Chōḷa *maṇḍalam*. He provided for a food-service to follow close upon the daily service provided for by Rāmarāja. He made provision for an annual income of 219 *rēkai pon* by digging up a percolation channel from which water was to be lifted for purposes of irrigation. The next one No. 3 is of Ś. 1504 (16th January 1583) and comes from the Gōvindarāja shrine. This belongs to the reign of Śrī Rangarāya, the son of Tirumala, who succeeded him on the throne. This is an agreement of the temple managers with a certain Tillappa Nāyaka, son of Tammu Nāyaka of Vijayanagara. He had a pavilion of his own in Tirupati to which Gōvindarāja was to be taken on occasions of certain festivals as also the image of Bhāshyakāra

(Ramānuja). He provided for a certain number of services through the year on an expenditure of 31 *rēkai pon* a year, for which he made over to the temple land yielding a certain quantity of grain, the equivalent of the 34 *rēkai pon*. The donor's share was to be received by him alone. No. 4 comes similarly from Lower Tirupati of the same date, but it was a donation by one Appāla Chinnappan, son of Takkapāṭṭi Śevvāṭṭi, a resident of Kīḻachākkai in Kuṉṟavardhana *kōṭṭam*. He made provision for a certain number of services costing 20 *rēkai pon* a year. He constructed an irrigation canal in the village of Pāṇakam from the income out of which the expenses were to be met. The donor's share of the services was to be received by himself alone. The next one No. 5 comes from Tirumalai. This belongs to the reign of Śrī Ranga of Ś. 1505 (25th September 1583). This is a donation by Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, a grandson of Tōḻappāchārya, and a son of Ayyā Ayyan. This is an elaborate record providing for a large number of services throughout the year amounting in all to 720 *rēkai pon* in cost. This amount was to be got from the revenues of a certain number of villages, namely, Ayyanpākkam in Pālavēḍu *Śīrmai* yielding 330, village Pishattūr 210, and Pulivōy 30 *pon* and Mallavōyil *grāmam* 150. From this income all the provisions

prescribed should be supplied from the temple treasury. Among the interesting details mentioned is the reading of the *Kauśikapurāṇam* on the *Uttāna dvādaśi* day, for which a special provision is made. The document, however, is imperfect, and does not contain the last part. The next one No. 6 comes from Lower Tirupati as well, of Ś. 1506 (18th October 1584). This is of the time of Śrī Ranga also. The donor is one Vengamarasa Śeṭṭi, son of a Śellappa Reḍḍi, one of the Veḷḷāḷas residing in Avilāli. This is a provision for a number of services, the annual cost of which was 32 pon, for which he made provision from irrigation canals constructed by him in Avilāli. He himself was to receive the donor's share. No. 7 of Ś. 1508 (22nd April 1586) is again of Śrī Ranga. The donor is an Avasaram Chennappa, son of Nasilukkūr Narasaiya. What the total provision is, is gone in the inscription and he was to receive the donor's share. No. 8 is of date Ś. 1510 referring to Śrī Rangadēva. Excepting the first two or three lines, the document is clean gone. This is the last inscription that is available for Śrī Ranga, which would take us down to the year 1588. The next record No. 9 refers to Venkaṭapatidēva Mahārāya, the younger brother of Śrī Ranga, who succeeded him. As a matter of fact Tirumala had four sons of whom the eldest died apparently young. The next one

Śrī Ranga succeeded him. When Śrī Ranga in his turn died, the last brother of Venkaṭapati succeeded, as the middle one Rāma, viceroy of Śrīrangapatām had apparently predeceased him. Hence Venkaṭapati follows Śrī Ranga immediately. This is an agreement with a certain Timmappa nāyaka of the *Kavarai* caste belonging to Vijayanagara who made provision for a pretty large number of services in the temple at Tirupati, the total provision amounting to 320 *rēkai pon*, for which he made over the *Agaram* village Pūndamalli (modern Poonamallee) in the Pāḷaiyam *Śīrmai* in the southern division. A part of the donor's share of the *prasāda*, was to be received by Periya Tirumalai Jīyar, and another part Bhūlōka Sidddaiyar, who made his own provision. No. 10 is of Ś. 1515 (16th January 1594) and of Venkaṭapati's reign. This is an agreement with the superintendent of the temple, Aṇṇan Rāmānuja Jīyar. This provides for a pretty large number of services. The total provision is gone in the document as also the other details regarding the disposal of the donor's share of the services. No. 11 is of the same reign and of date Ś. 1515 (13th March 1594). This is an agreement with a certain Nārāyaṇan, son of Dāraṇi Kōnēri Reḍḍi. This is as usual provision of services for a number of festivals in the year. The document is incomplete. The next document is No. 12 of

Venkaṭapati of Ś. 1518 (19th April 1596). This is an agreement with a Śeṭṭi of Lower Tirupati by name Śilambaḍiyār Śeṭṭi, son of a Tambi Śeṭṭi. It refers to a *maṇṭapa* constructed by him in the *Periya Rāja Vīdhi* on the west side of Tirupati. The total provision called for amounted to 140 *rēkai pon.* He repaired a silted up channel of the *Rāyan Ēri*, the income from out of this improvement amounting to the sum required. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the superintendent of the temple, Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Rāmānuja Jīyar. We pass on to No. 13 of the same ruler of Ś. 1528 (31st March 1606). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain Narasaiya, son of treasurer Krishna Ayya who was associated with a Tirumala Rāyar, and resident in Vijayanagara. The total provision amounted to 27 *rēkai pon.* The rest of the document is gone. No. 14 is of the same date, but 28th November 1606. This is an agreement with Hanumaiyyar Aṇṇaiyangar, son of Lakkappa Nāyakar, a resident of Vijayanagara near about the hill Mālyavanta, etc. This donation was made for the special merit of Venkaṭapati and one of his queens Krishṇāji Amman. Venkaṭapati had five queens in all, and this was one of them. The yearly services cost 365 *rēkai pon.* This was to be derived from the revenues of the villages irrigated



PAVILION OF EMPEROR VENKATA I

(To face page 321)

by a tank *Venkaṭarāya-Samudram* constructed by him at his own expense for various channels carrying water to lands for cultivation, from which the amount was recovered every year as revenue. Out of the donor's share of the service, a certain part was to be given to two Śrī Vaishṇavas, and the remainder made over to the donor himself. The next one No. 17 from Tirumalai is of Ś. 1535 (8th November 1613). This record is gone in parts, but seems to contain the interesting information that, owing to constant rain, some of the minor irrigation canals had been filled up and lost, and reclamation work had to be undertaken. The donor, a certain Śinganāyaka, managed to recover some of these at his own expense at the village Pūṇḍi, which he made over to the temple treasury for purpose of certain services which he instituted. There is the further interesting detail that the *stānattār* of the temple put this record upon stone in the presence of Venkaṭapatidēvarāya Mahārāya, which would mean that he was present at Tirupati. Probably he was pretty often at the place, as we find several of his more important copper-plate grants are recorded to have been signed in the presence of Śrī Venkaṭēśa, which could be expected to mean that he issued these grants from the holy place, which would be possible for him, as his capital was just at the foot of the hill, from which

he could go up the hill any time he chose, and might even make it a regular arrangement to spend a part of the day on the hill when he might as well transact business, as on this occasion. Whatever the actual arrangement was, we find him intimately associated with Tirupati in more ways than one, in addition to the mere proximity of the capital. It would perhaps be most appropriate to mention here a number of Vijayanagar coins with the legend *Śrī Vēnkaṭēśvarāya Namaḥ*, adoration to Lord Venkaṭēśvara. This appears in a number of varieties, of course, on some of which there is a standing Vishṇu under a canopy, sometimes alone, sometimes with his two Goddesses. The God alone may be held to represent Lord Venkaṭēśvara on the hill; but Venkaṭēśvara on the hill is not represented usually with two Goddesses, although it would be quite usual for Vishṇu as such. The legend *Śrī Vēnkaṭēśvarāya Namaḥ* may have to be regarded on these coins as merely the term of adoration, and not exactly as the royal sign manual, although Venkaṭapatirāya, the first who died in 1614, signs some of his copper-plate charters as Śrī Venkaṭēśvara. These pagodas bearing Vishṇu marks became popular in the later days of the empire of Vijayanagar because of the difficulties of exchange with the European silver coinage of which the Venetian rials of

eight were the most popular even after the fall of Vijayanagar. Both the rulers of Gōlkoṇḍa and their successors, and the English East India Company, adopted the same coinage as a matter of convenience, and the Vijayanagar pagodas were in circulation long after Vijayanagar authority itself had become extinct. The next important document is No. 18 of date Ś. 1536 (4th November 1614). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* for the ratification of an arrangement that Venkaṭapatirāya himself made with *Nōṭṭakāra* (estimater) Vengaḷaiyan son of Kōnappaiyan, a Brahman. This makes provision for a large number of services in the temple throughout the year, for which this Vengaḷaiyan provided 187 *rēkai pon* and 5 *paṇam*. Another provision was made by his wife, Venkaṭamman, who is described here as the daughter of a certain Venkaṭaiyan of the Gautama *gōtra*, Kātyāyana *sūtra* and Śukla Yajur Vēda, belonging to Chinna Kōṭṭur near Vijayanagara, the husband belonging to the Rig Vēda. She made provision of 200 *rēkai pon*, for which she gave up the revenues of certain temple villages which she brought under cultivation by improving the irrigation channels at her own expense. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the donors themselves. There is one interesting detail in the lady's list of services, that is, the

reading of the *Vāyupurāṇa* on the day of the Rāmāyaṇa Paṭṭābhishēka. The record makes provision for remuneration to the Brahman engaged in this reading. The next document, No. 19 is of Ś. 1538 (4th November 1616). This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain Tiruvēngada Aiyan, son of Achyuta Aiyangar, and a grandson of a Ghaṭṭu Abhaiya Narasaiyar of Tirunārāyaṇapuram of the Kaśyapa *gōtra* and Kātyāyana *sūtra* and Śukla Yajur Vēda. This agreement was made with the Aiyangar, as it seems for a Chinna Timmarāja, son of Chiragirirāja, and grandson of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ōbaḷarāja. This makes a pretty large number of provisions for services in the year. But the first one begins with the purchase of services already existing in the temple for the purpose of feeding Brahmans in the *Rāmānujakūṭa* at Tirumalai. The provision made was 253 *rēkai pon* and 6 *paṇam*. A certain number of other services also were included both in the hill shrine and in the Gōvindarāja shrine, and, including that, the total provision was 280 *pon*, for which he made over the revenues of certain villages the irrigation resources of which he had provided, among them the village Iḷamaṇḍiyam, which yielded a revenue of 281 *rēkai pon* and 6 *paṇam*. The donor's share of the service was to be received by the Brahman alone apparently.

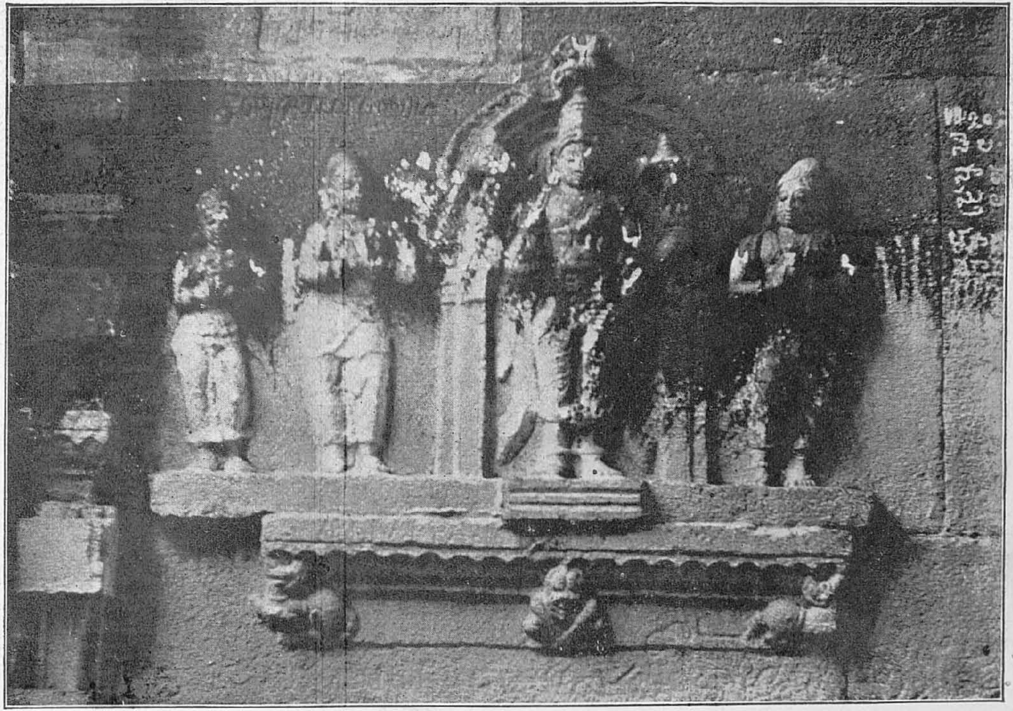
The next one is No. 20 of Ś. 1549 (25th May 1627), and takes us on to the reign of Rāmadēvarāya Mahārāya. The document itself is an agreement of the *stānattār* with a certain *Nōṭṭakāra* Nāraṇaiyan, son of Venkaṭaiyan, and grandson of Kōṇappaiyan, residents of the village Daṇāyakan Mangalam, and associated with Venkaṭapatirāya. This makes provision for a large number of services during the year which cost 440 *rēkai pon* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam*. To meet this he made over the revenues of a certain number of villages belonging to the temple, the irrigation resources of which he improved by spending his own money. The donor himself was to receive the quarter share of the service. There is provision in the course of these for *Nōṭṭakāra* Venkaṭaiyan, who was worshipping Tiruvēngaḍamuḍaiyān daily on the hill. Apparently this was the father of the donor, who, in his age, made it a point to reside in Tirupati, and the provision is for his maintenance. The next is No. 21 of Ś. 1553 (29th September 1631). This is of the reign of Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāyadēva Mahārāya. This Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāya Mahārāya was nominated to the succession by Rāma, the previous ruler, along with another prince Ranga, who succeeded him, in Ś. 1544 (A. D. 1622). These were collaterals, and the nominations must have

taken place at a time when Rāmarāya himself was very young and possibly as against contingencies. As a matter of fact he had married two wives at least, but does not appear to have left children, at least by them as far as we know at present. The record is an agreement with one Rāmachandrayyan, who made provision for a certain amount which is lost in the record by restoring the irrigation channels that had got silted up in course of time. The donor's share of the service was to be received by him. No. 22 is of Ś. 1557, four years after (2nd January 1636), the same Venkaṭapatirāya continuing. This is an agreement of the *stānattār* with one Aṇṇangarāchāryar, son of Aḻagar Ayyangar, a grandson of Prativādi Bhayankaram Vengaṇāchārya. This comes from Lower Tirupati and sets out a large number of services for which detailed provision is made. In the course of it there is a reference to a temple of Nādamuni Āḻvār. While we know that there were temples or shrines constructed for the other Āḻvārs and Rāmānuja, a shrine to Nādamuni, we think we meet with but rarely. The provision made was 348 *rēkai pon* and 8 *paṇam*. This was provided for from the income derived by the restoration and improvement of the Lakshmīnārayaṇa Perumāḷ Channel in the village Avilāli, and a certain number of other channels as well.

The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to go to himself. Then follows No. 23 which is dated Ś. 1560 (15th June 1638). The ruler is strangely enough mentioned as Śrīrangadēvarāyar Mahārāya. This could only mean the last Śrīranga, called sometimes Śrīranga IV, sometimes Śrīranga VI, one of the two princes nominated for the succession in 1622 as was stated above by emperor Rāmarāya, who was placed on the throne as a result of the great war of succession. The actual date of accession to power of Śrīranga from the records of the East India Company at Fort St. George is the month of October 1642. But we get from the document from Tirupati the information that he is actually the reigning ruler in 1638 at least of the region with which we are concerned, and even this has its own tale to tell. We find the same Company's records complain that the region round Armagaon, the English settlement before Fort St. George became the chief settlement, had been conquered by another ruler, while the nominal one in possession was yet Venkaṭapati ruling the locality through his governor Dāmarla Venkaṭa, who was his own brother-in-law and had a vast government with headquarter's at Wandiwash, with a brother holding a smaller government at Poonamallee. We shall come to that perhaps later. But for the present it would suffice to

note the claim that this document implies that Śrīranga put himself forward actually as the ruling sovereign of this part of the empire of Vijayanagar—the part round Tirupati. The document is as usual an agreement of the temple management with a Brahman of Guṇḍanālu in the Uruvakoṇḍa *Śīrmai*. The name of the person is gone. It provides for a certain number of services, the actual requirement of which 95 *rēkai pon*, was to be drawn from the increased revenue by the repairs carried out at the expense of the donor to two canals, the names of which are gone, to temple villages. The donor's share of the *prasāda* was to be received by the donor himself. One interesting point worth noting in this document is it refers to a Jīyar who was superintending Iḷaṁ-Kōvil the name for Tirupati which we met with in literature.

The next document is No. 24, a record in Telugu of Ś. 1606, Raktākshi, corresponding to 19th March 1684. We shall take up that document later as it refers to an agreement between the *stānattār* and Timmaṇaiyangar of Tirupati and Śivarāja Rāmachandra Yēta Mata Rao, Dabīr sā, obviously a document pertaining to the period of the Mahrattas. No. 25 refers itself to Ś. 1550 corresponding to A.D. 1628. Along with it may be taken No. 26 which is a duplicate in



MATLA ANANTA AND HIS PARENTS

(To face page 329)

Tamil-grantha characters of the Telugu version of No. 25. They are both of them found at the foot of the hill at Tirupati. These two are documents which record the services of a chieftain who distinguished himself at this date, and is obviously descended of the family of another chieftain who played first a distinguished part and then an inglorious one in the reign of Śriranga, successor of Tirumala. This Matla Kumāra Ananta, as he calls himself, describes himself, as descended of the family of the Matḷa chiefs of the Dēva Chōḻa family. We have already referred to these in the course of these inscriptions, as different from the Uraiyūr Chōḻas of Cuddapah and the Pottappi Chōḻas. These were chieftains who exercised authority over the region extending between Tirupati and Ahōbalam hills, that is, over parts of Cuddapah and Karnul Districts, and a portion perhaps of the Anantapur District as well. He claims to have fought several battles in this region, Palagiri, Animēla, Pilēru, Chappallee and Vērupalli. Some of these could be located in the Chittoor, and the neighbouring parts of the Anantapur, Districts. He claims to have destroyed other enemies in another series of places called Kottagāla, Palakada, Guṇḍlūru, Kushṭūru and at Kumalla Kāḷuvā. His charities extended to a number of temples, such as those at Udayagiri, Tiruvallūr, Kāḷahasti, Nandalūr,

Vontimitta, Siddavatta, Rāyachōti and other places in addition to those at Tirupati and even Chandragiri. He claims to have built choultries (charity feeding-houses) in twelve cities, which are named, although two refer themselves to Tirupati, one at *Āḻvār Tīrtham* in Lower Tirupati and the other *Śēshāchalakuṛuvu* on the pathway up the Tirupati hills, particularly for the convenience of pilgrims proceeding all the way down to Rāmēśvaram in the south, and Badrināth on the Himālayas. He also claims to have made great gifts which great rulers often lay claim to. His charities at Tirupati which demand our attention consisted of the following presentations to the hill temple: a golden horse, an elephant and a chariot as vehicles for God; a lotus seat, a gem-set crown and a plate for offering food-services. He constructed a high roofed pavilion, a pathway with flights of steps up the hill—it is not specified where—and an *agragōpura* in the main part of the hill identified with the *Gāḷigōpuram*. For the Gōvindarāja at Lower Tirupati, he presented the elephant and horse vehicles. He is said to have installed in a pavilion an image of God Venkaṭēśa on the pathway, we cannot say where. He claims to have built a *gōpura* for the Śiva temple at Chandragiri also. He constructed a big tank on the hill on one side at Chennūru in the Cuddapah

THE GATEWAY OF MATLA ANANTA, TIRUPATI (*To face page 330*)

District. He also built the pavilion over the foot-marks on the way up the hill—a pavilion in in which Brahma, Īśvara, Śankara and other Dēvas and saints are said to have worshipped Vishṇu. These are supposed to have been the footmarks of Venkaṭēśa under the tamarind tree, which are believed to have been shown to Rāmānuja and his uncle Periya Tirumalai Nambi. The next six inscriptions belong to the same chief. The first two refer to the *Gāligōpuram* as a structure built by Maṭla Kumāra Ananta. The next two are found in the base of the *gōpuram* and refer to services by Maṭla Tiruvēngaḷanātha, and his wife Channama, apparently father and mother of Kumāra Ananta. Nos. 31 and 32 are in the high *gōpura* in the middle of the Sannidhi Street in Lower Tirupati and state that the *gōpura* was built by Maṭla Kumāra Ananta, son of Tiruvēngaḷanātha and his queen Channama. No. 33 is at the foot of the hill, and refers itself to the year Ś. 1545 (A. D. 1613), and is a record of a Koṇḍaiyar in token of his services to Venkaṭēśa.

The next following inscriptions, 20 of them, are fragmentary and refer to various services to the God. The next record worth our consideration is No. 67 coming from Lower Tirupati. It refers to the reign of Śrīrangarāya Mahārāyar,

and mentions a Ś. date which is gone. It refers to a land gift. The next one is No. 85 which is again gone badly. It refers to the ruler, but the name is gone, and refers to a food-service by a certain Rāmānujan in front of the Vaṇ Śaṭakōpan *Maṭha*. No. 88 refers to the *Dātu* probably the year corresponding to A. D. 1636. Nothing else could be made out of the document as it is imperfect. Then we pass on to Nos. 118 and 119. They refer to donations by individuals, the sum involved, 1,190 *pon* is pretty large. The first one relates to the charity of a Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar, who is recorded to have made other large gifts also. No. 24 we already referred to before of A. D. 1606 refers to an agreement of the *stānattār* with the *Dabīr*, which in Mahratti would mean a corresponding Secretary, and a certain Timmaṇ-aiyangar. They made a number of donations in the temple at Tirupati. They are first, four food-services in the name of the Shuda Rāṇūjipantulu, one food-service for the God Varāhasvāmi, and then it provides for distribution of food-services to several temples by officials and others, among whom happens to be the *Adhyāpakas*, the reciters of the *Prabhanda* of the Āḻvārs. This involved an annual expenditure of 25 *gadyāṇas* of gold for which they presented a neck ornament valued at 525, *Śrīrangarāyar gadyāṇas* as they are called, at the temple treasury. The document as we

said before is of Ś. 1684, and belongs to the end of the 17th century when the power of the Vijayanagar empire as such had become more or less extinct, although nominally rulers continued. The mention of "*Śrīrangarāyar gadyāṇa*" meant nothing more than the coin current at the time, having been the coin of the last well-known ruler Śrīranga, who struggled hard for the revival of the empire till about A.D. 1672. The last documents that we have to refer to in this Volume are Nos. 130 and 131, both of them on the slabs on the west side of the *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi*. They are two versions of the same document in Telugu and Nāgari characters issued by the first *Vichāraṇakartā* of the Dēvastānam, and refer themselves to the Ś. date 1771 corresponding to 31st August 1849. The titles given to him, *Sēvādāsa*, *Satpurusha* of the Hathirāmji Muṭṭ at Tirupati are interesting. His full title is *Śrīmatu Akhilāṇḍa Kōṭi Brahmāṇḍanāyaka Śrī Vishvaksēna Mudrādhikāri*, which means, the keeper of the seal of office of Vishvaksēna, the divine controller of the God's household. The document has reference to his carrying out the repairs of the *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi* which is described to be situate between *Varāha Pushkaraṇi* and *Śrīnivāsa Mahātīrtha*, and contains in itself eight holy *Tīrthas*, called Mārkanḍēya in the east, Agni in the south-east, Yāmya in the

south, Vāsishṭa in the south-west, Varuṇa in the west, Vāyu in the north-west, Kubhēra in the north, and Gālava and Sarasvati in the north-east; except Nos. 1, 4 and 8, the rest of the names are merely directions and nothing more. He is also said to have renovated the *maṇṭapa* in the middle of the tank. The document No. 135 is interesting as referring to a benefaction by a brother disciple of the *Mahant* of the time, of course without giving the date.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND GOLKONDA INVASIONS.

GENERAL COURSE OF HISTORY OF THE PERIOD. In the records of inscriptions that we have considered since the close of the reign of Sadāśiva, we had to deal with the reigns of the successors of Sadāśiva, extending from 1571–72, it may even be 1575, for the formal assumption of the title by Tirumala. Sadāśiva's successor must be considered as Tirumala, the second of the three brothers. Tirumala was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Śrīranga, who was followed by his youngest son, Venkaṭapati. Tirumala ruled up to 1575–76 ; Śrīranga from 1575 to 1585–86 ; and Venkaṭapati from 1586 to 1614. His successor Rāma ruled from 1616 to 1632, and then another Venkaṭa 1632–1642, and Śrīranga the last of the name, from 1642 to at least 1672. A few names of rulers occur in inscriptions of the last decades of the century ; but then the empire existed perhaps only in name. Some salient facts of general history have now to be taken note of during this long period, from the beginning of the reign of Tirumala right down to the end of that of Śrīranga. The great battle which ended in the defeat of Vijayanagar troops near Talikota

made it impossible for the empire to continue with its capital at Vijayanagar. So Tirumala removed himself for safety to Penugoṇḍa; but, during the following ten years during which he continued to rule, he had so far recovered, that he was able to intervene effectively to prevent the aggressions of the Muhammadans into the territory of the empire of Vijayanagar. He beat back the Gōlkoṇḍa troops which had advanced into the territory of Vijayanagar along the eastern parts of the empire down to Ādōni or thereabouts. He was still looked up to by his Muhammadan neighbours as one capable of rendering them substantial assistance in their rivalries. Except that Vijayanagar became impossible for the capital and the glory of the empire was somewhat darkened by defeat, the empire did not suffer very substantial harm. Tirumala's passing away and the empire passing into the hands of his successor, Śrīranga, seemed to have heartened the Gōlkoṇḍa Sultans to try their fortune again. Ibrahim Quṭub Shah, who had been for years in Vijayanagar and had a more intimate knowledge of its resources, made successful advances and carried his arms down to the walls of Penugoṇḍa, and, in the course of the campaign, even succeeded in taking Śrīranga prisoner. At the end of the campaign Śrīranga was released, but he had to remain content with

Gōlkoṇḍa occupying all the eastern part of the territory right down to Ahōbalam, and the Vishṇu shrine itself happened to remain in the hands of the Gōlkoṇḍa rulers for five or six years after 1578 when this misfortune befell Śrīranga. An inscription of date 1584–85 in Ahōbalam of Śrīranga states it clearly that this misfortune to Ahōbalam was due to the defection of the Maṭla chief who held authority in that region. The Ahōbalam Jīyar contemporary with Śrīranga, by name Śashṭaparānkuśa intervened, and persuaded Śrīranga to make an effort at the recovery of the holy place. Śrīranga was almost ready to undertake an expedition; but a local chief Koṇḍarāju Venkaṭarāju, who had volunteered service through the Jīyar was allowed to conduct the expedition instead with his own resources. He beat back the enemy and recovered Ahōbalam, and the inscription is a record of this recovery of Ahōbalam. This, together with perhaps the incident under Tirumala mentioned above, make it clear that it had become more or less the ambition of Gōlkoṇḍa to extend its power southwards into Vijayanagar territory to the extent that it was possible to do. This policy of southward expansion of Gōlkoṇḍa became thenceforward a feature of its policy all through. We have a record of Śrīranga's successor, Venkaṭa having had to fight against these very Gōlkoṇḍa

troops and that he beat them back beyond the Krishṇā in its lower course. This is stated in all the inscriptions of Venkaṭapati as also in the Amīnabād inscription of date Ś. 1514 (1592-93). The fortresses with which we are familiar between Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu figure again in these campaigns. Under the first three rulers after Sadāśiva, Vijayanagar was still in sufficient strength to beat back these invasions effectively. But the great war of succession which followed the death of Venkaṭa so weakened the imperial power that the capacity of the empire to resist aggressions from this side underwent a visible decline. We have already noted that in the civil war, the viceroys of the empire took sides, and, except the great viceroy of Tanjore who remained loyal, the other viceroys were hostile, either passively like Mysore, or actively like Madura. Among the chiefs nearer the headquarters of the empire, there were two factions which disputed possession of various parts of this territory which was liable to attacks from Gōlkoṇḍa. Rāma who succeeded Venkaṭa was a boy of ten when he succeeded Venkaṭa in 1614. He depended upon the friendly good offices of the Velugōṭi Chief Yāchamanāyaka and his friends. Naturally he was opposed to those on whom the mantle of Jaggarāya, Gobbūri Jagga, fell. The territories of the Gobbūri family happened to be on the northern portion,

on this side, rather close to the Nizam's borders, wherefrom they wanted to extend and take as much of the imperial territory as they could, and those interested in the emperor, Yāchamanāyaka and his friends, had naturally to oppose. These wars became pretty common, and we hear echoes of them in the English correspondence from Pulicat. In the period of Rāma's rule there was rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and we set below short extracts* from the English Factories in India, which would show the actual position. The first is from a letter written by Sir Thomas Roe to Capt. Pring, February 14, 1618, which warns him not to go too near the Malabar coast on his way to Bantam :—

"For the Vizeroy† (as wee heare) prepares a fleete to goe about the Cape for the Coast of Cormandell and wilbe ready this month ; yf you bee alone, it is not good to tempt them". The next one is again to the same captain dated 10th March 1618, which is even more explicit and says, "I heare that a fleet is preparing for the Dutch plantation (Pulicat) below yt, and I feare a small ship cannot stay in safety........ Breefely, that factory is worth nothing."

* *The English Factories in India*, 1618–21, pp. 19 and 27 respectively.

† The Portuguese Viceroy.

This was so far as the safety of the sea was concerned, which would on occasions affect even the safety of the land empire. But the precariousness of the coast country is described in graphic language. Apart from the Portuguese hostilities at sea which cannot altogether be a matter for indifference to the empire, the more serious trouble was trouble in the interior about which we find references in the letters of the English and other factors, writing from the Coromandal coast during the period. The famous battle of Toppūr, as it is called, near Trichinopoly resulted in the victory of the loyalists, and the fugitive prince Rāma was placed upon the throne, a lad of about ten or twelve years of age. The chief antoganist of his claims was Gobbūri Jaggarāya, the brother of the queen, who claimed to have a son of her own, and a number that followed him in addition to the Nāyakas of Gingee and Madura, who helped him as allies. This Gobbūri Jagga seems to have been a man who administered a government even under Venkaṭa in addition to his own ancestral territory on the frontiers of the Nizam's Dominions. When the battle went against Jagga and he fell in battle, his followers continued the struggle and tried to maintain their hold on the great bulk of the imperial territory along the east coast right down to Pulicat. The chief actor in this was

Jaggarāya's brother Yatirāja. Yāchamanāyaka, having played the main part in bringing about the succession of Rāma, naturally acted the part of guardian of the Emperor, and fought hard to reclaim the territories of the empire from those whose disaffection brought about the war of succession. It is this struggle that we find under reference both in the relations of Gōlkoṇḍa by Methwold, and in the correspondence of the English factors on the Coromandal coast. What Methwold* has to say in relation to the years 1616 to 1618 is as follows :—" The first kingdome upon the mayne is that ancient one of Bisnagar, rent at this time into severall provinces or governments held by the Naickes of that countrey in their owne right ; for since the late King (who deceased about fifteen yeeres since) there have arisen severall competitors for the crowne, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions, or affections ; from whence hath followed a continuall civill warre in some parts of the countrey, and such extreame want and famine in most of it, that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the seaside, selling there a child for five *fanums* worth of rice, transported from thence into other parts of India,

* *Relations of Golkonda*, pp. 2–3, Vol. LXVI, Hakluyt Society Publications, II Series.

and sold againe to good advantage, if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of soules." This extract speaks for itself; but we should make the following remarks not to leave it liable to be misunderstood. Probably the actual writing of this account took place some time about 1630 as the last King is said to have died 15 years since. Venkaṭapatirāya died in 1614, the succession of Chikkarāya Ranga, his assassination with his family, the civil wars and the final victory at Toppūr occupied more than two years, and Rāma could have succeeded nominally in 1616, and could have come into authority in his capital Chandragiri, the capital of Venkaṭa, only thereafter. The campaigns therefore have reference to the period 1618 to 1620. The whole territory was disturbed. Much the same tale is told by the English factors on the coast, and the English had no position on the coast except at Masulipatam which they found for various reasons unsatisfactory, becoming almost untenable. They wished to effect a change, and, as a temporary measure, about 1620 settled in Pulicat under the hospitality of the Dutch who had secured the place by a charter from Venkaṭapatirāya himself, as it was in territory belonging to one of his queens. The English factors are writing from there and what they say applies to the locality round about Pulicat.

"*Little news, except of the approach of our last yeres enymye, who the 20th of October entered a small village neare Borderinge, and within sight of Pallecatt sett the same one fire, and burnynge all to the ground their raysed a forte of mud and other combustable (sic) mixed togeather, which they finished in two dayes and two nights bringing with them coules (coolies) for the purpose. But Iteraja, who is lord of theise partes, having notice thereof, presently assembled his forces, beinge to the number of four or five thousand persons, and the 28th ditto besieged the said forte, the enymye beinge within noe more then 300 persons, which notwithstandinge held out a day or two, till the Dutch were faine to send hym, the said Iteraja, two peeces of ordnance out of the forte, with two or three gunners to his assistance; which the enymye perceivinge, fearinge the worst, demaunded caule and they would deliver up the forte and retire themselves; which was performed, and the ordnance brought againe into the forte the 30th ditto; whereupon there was a great man interposed himselfe beetweene them both in the ways, as supposed by a friendly disposition, to make a league of friendshipe and accord; and standing both to his sensure, assigned each (each) his quarter or portion of land which formerly they held, which was devided by a river

* *English Factories in India*, 1622–23, pp. 138–40.

which parted the same. And conditions beinge drawne and writtings past beetweene them, the said Iteraja, as void of any further suspition, began to remove his forces, and came even att the towne of Pallicatte, mindinge to retorne to his whome, left the fort without any person therin, only one parte of theise tender welles have rayssed to the ground in the meane tyme. And the day followinge the aforesaid enymye, as false as politicke, whose hed hath name Cemenique, in the nyght retorned with 2,000 persons and rayssed againe the said forte and made itt something larger, and hath put therein 500 persons, and soe remaines himselfe neare in company with 10,000, this beinge within three myles of Pallicate. This Iteraja on the contrary understandinge of this false afore pretended dishonest dealinge, avowed by all their fidelities and pagodas to be truly kept one both sides, which now beinge so treacherouslye broken, the said Iteraja, with much rage and discontente, requiringe assistance of his brothers and other his frinds, hath againe taken the feild and lies now within a mile ½ of his enymye with four thousand, and dayly attends a further supply. He is a man by all reported of a stoute corrage; his onlye want is money to supply his occasions att present, whereof the other is well-stored and therefore is of more forse. They both strive for that they have noe right unto, but

patronize as their owne untill the Kinge be established, which is yett younge; besides he is held in small esteeme, as yett. What will follow by theise chains of troubles, the conclusion will make appearance; but in the meane time we greatly feare, yea verily beeleeve, our negotiations wilbe greatly hindered, if not in our expectation wholy frustrated; for this Cemenique, whose drifte and ayme is for Pallecat, to bring itt to subjection under his government, that he might have the sacken of the inhabitants, who is possest they enjoye an infinitt of meanes, and therefore would faine be plucking of their feathers; which havinge soe subjected would lett them rest till they were growne out againe and fully ripe. This forte which he the enymye injoyes is just in the high waye from Pallicate into the country, whereby you may perceive the danger that depends thereon. Pallicate of itt selfe affordeth noe manner of commoditye for our imployment, only most parte of the persons imployed therein; and for our best paintinge, they are most parte salure and mayer, by reason of the water att other places abrod in the country, a Jentesh (see p. 104) league from hence; whereby you may partly imagin what incorradgment theise people can have to sett themselves aworke in theise troublesome tymes, when on all sides their is burnynge and spoylling where they

come. The Dutch Governor on his arrival finding the English in a small cottage, gave them a better one to their content, being the house of the gunner, who had been sent to Batavia for some offence."

The long extract quoted above explains the position quite clearly. The "Iteraja" stands for Gobbūri Yatirāja, the younger brother of Gobbūri Jagga; he ultimately became the father-in-law of Rāma, the father of his second wife. The "Chemenique" and other variants in the correspondence stand for Ēchama Nāyaka or Yāchama Nāyaka, the loyalist chief who supported the cause of the prince. The extract above quoted gives an idea of what took place in the country and what condition the people were in for the large part of it. To add to the miseries of the country, a severe famine occurred in that part of the country, and that children were being sold for a small quantity of rice, as in Methwold's narrative quoted above, is found repeated in the letters of the English factors. The country must have been in a miserable condition really, and Rāma, who would have been about the time hardly seventeen or eighteen, must have felt his position very uncertain; and perhaps it is this that is reflected in what is stated of Rāma that, in A. D. 1622, he nominated two collaterals,

grandson and great grandson of the great Rāma-rāya of Talikota for succession, in case anything should happen to him. Such indeed was the uncertainty of the position. This state of things seems to have continued more or less during the next six or seven years, as we find the factors reporting again in the year 1629 in a letter dated 20th August 1629":—

"The great king of the Jentus is now in his wars grown so powerful that he has conquered and regained all his former dominions save only our Nayak of this place (Armagon), who (it) is supposed cannot long subsist; wherefore perforce must leave his country. What alterations these proceedings will bring unto our masters affairs in this place we must refer unto time, and with that small force we have vigilently to stand upon our own guards until God send us more force; yet we have no cause to doubt but that he will be conformable to reason, as this our Naik hath formerly been. But in what manner the Dutch will proceed with the King upon these alterations we know not, but have reason to doubt of them by reason of their former underhand dealing*." There is a postscript added to the letter that information had been received from Pulicat that thirteen ships arrived from

* *The English Factories in India*, 1624–29, pp. 346–47.

Lisbon to assist the Portuguese to spoil English and Dutch trade in Persia and India, and other details which do not concern us.

The state of things discernible from the above refers to the year 1629 when from what is stated we could take it that Rāmarāja II had just attained to the mastery over the feudatories, and therefore to the general command of the empire. He seems to have maintained that satisfactory position for not more than three years at the outside, The great famine which visited the Dakhan in 1630 and caused such general havoc in the reign of Shah Jahan seems to have extended to the parts with which we are directly concerned, and the havoc of the famine does not appear to have been any less in these parts. In the face of this famine, the satisfactory political condition of Rāma's Empire must have been greatly neutralised by the unhappy condition to which the people must have been reduced. It is stated elsewhere that the famine actually resulted from three successive failures of the monsoons, and therefore was so severe and spread over such a large area. If it was so bad as that, its after effects must have been somewhat prolonged as well. The reports that the factors at Armagon made either to their headquarters at Bantam, or Surat, or even the

Company at home do give us an idea of the actual state of affairs then obtaining round about Armagon. What is really material to us in this state of things is that we find an alteration in the political circumstances of the time, and we are told plainly that the Nāyaks were again up in arms against the emperor, whose condition was far from satisfactory.

CHANGE OF RULERS; VENKATA SUCCEEDED RAMA. This probably was brought on by a change of rulers. Rāma must have died and the two successors that he nominated to succeed him, making provision for contingencies, perhaps disputed the title to succession, and naturally, if there was not an actual civil war, conditions must have approximated more or less to that. We find an echo of that state of things in the extracts following from a letter of date 31st January 1632, which was written from Bantam to the Company at home. This must have been based upon information received from the Coromandal coast previous to the date of writing, and therefore have reference to the year previous, 1631. As a matter of fact, the actual extracts, the longer extract, is dated Masulipatam August 29, of this year, that is 1631, and therefore the disputed succession must have been in the year A. D. 1631.

"The tenth dicto we arrived at Armagon, wheare we found our business theare very backward, by reason of the greate quantity of raines, as also the wares between the Kinge of Jentu (i.e., the Chandragiri Raja) and His Naiques. The munson growinge to an ende, we weare inforsed to take what cloth was imballed, and the 26 dicto we departed the roode of Armagon for Bantam, where we arrived the 26th January in health and saffetty. An answer was received from Surat, in which the President confirmed the authority of the Agent, 'geivinge him power to dispose of all shipps and marchandize which shall arive theare'. Edward Prescott died at Masulipatam on August 29*. 'The great mortality of poore people in Meslapatam and other townes adjacent, occasioned by the greate dearth of rice and other graine, was the cause of our longer stay by 60 dayes uppon the Coast, for the major part of boeth weavors and washers are dead, the contry beinge allmost ruinated; but greate hoopes of a plentifull harvest this yeare. In the kingdom of Jentu, those parts adjoyninge to Armagon are at presante soe afflicted with wares betwene the Kinge and his Naiques that, unlesse it ceace very speedily, it will indanger the ruinatinge of the wholle country, with greate damage to Your Worshipps affaires theare. As

* *The English Factories in India*, 1630–33, pp. 203–204.

for the forte of Armagon, it is of soe meane strengt that those resident in it doeth feaer dayly to be oppreste by the Kinge and other souldiers which raingeth over those parts. The Agent hath provided a present for he that shall remaine conquerer, either Kinge or Naiques. In the intrum they stand as newters to boeth, intendinge at delivery of those presents to procure lysance for the billdinge a bricke wall about the howse, which may be efected with small charge; which once beinge accomplished, they neede nott feare the power of the whole kingdom; which at presente they indanger the loose of Your Worshipps estatts theare, with theire owne lyves. It is greate hoopes that Armagon will in a shorte tyme be able to furnish the southerne factorys with paintings and whitte cloth of all sorts which is required, haveing made proffe of bettelles (30 covetts) and long cloth, which we find well made; the merchants of Armagon having provided 20 balles, but by reason wheare they weare made, fearinge it should be taken from them by the souldiers aforesaid."

THE EMPIRE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF UNDER THE RULE OF VENKATA: The decade following is again one of troubled history and a considerable amount of rivalry between the two nominees of

Rāma who were related to each other as uncle and nephew, and were standing more or less on a footing of equality almost, in respect of their claims to succeed. The rivalry would have been less if it happened to be purely a question of succeeding to the throne. It is not the mere succession that was the cause of the troubles; but much rather it was a question of who it was that was to exercise the real authority in the state. The succession of the second Venkaṭapati meant the dominence in authority of the Dāmarla chiefs who were brothers-in-law of the sovereign, and were therefore likely to exercise authority over the empire. We see this is reflected in the correspondence of the English factors, which clearly states it, in the course of correspondence relating to the grant of the site on which Madras was built, and the correspondence in regard to which began some time earlier. The statement occurs in the course of this that the Dāmarla chief Venkaṭa's authority extended over the regions from San Thome to Pulicat. We get a little more information about these chiefs from the Dutch records, the *Dagh-Register*, relating to these. Dāmarla (Tam. Dāmal) is a village in the Chingleput District from which these people came, and hence the family goes by that name generally. The members of this family held high positions under the great Venkaṭapati early in the 17th

century, and the most distinguished among them was Channappa Nāyaka one of the bigger governors of the empire under the great Venkaṭa. He was appointed governor of the region round Vellore after Venkaṭa had subdued the rebel chieftain Lingama Nāyaka son of Chinna Bomma of Vellore. As governor, he left his mark upon the province which he governed in useful works, one of the irrigation tanks constructed going by the name *Channasāgaram.* It is in honour of his name that the native part of the town in Madras was built by one of his sons to be a sort of buffer between the Portuguese at San Thome and the Dutch at Pulicat who lived within thirty miles of each other, and who used to be constantly fighting against each other in the territory of Vijayanagar, apart from their constant quarrels on the sea. Hence the native part of the town is known as Channapatṇam, which is the name by which the place is known among the Indians even to-day. The site granted was to the south of it, and, from the records, we could see that there was a smaller settlement which went by the name Madraspatam lying to the south of Channapatṇam, and the piece of land ultimately given to Day was south of this Madraspatam, as we shall perhaps see later. This Dāmarla Venkaṭa was governor of a large division with Wandiwash for its headquarters, and with a revenue differently

estimated and put down as something like 600,000 pagodas a year. He had a younger brother by name Ayya, or Dāmarla Ayya or Ayyappa Nāyaka. He had a subordinate government under that brother with headquarters at Poonamallee. Venkaṭa's governorship was being managed by this brother while Venkaṭa himself remained at headquarters, assisting the emperor in the administration of the empire. Of course, this would mean the exercise of all authority more or less by him, and in consequence the jealousy of the other chieftains who might otherwise have remained quiet. What is to our purpose here is that while Dāmarla Venkaṭa's territory extended along the coast up to Pulicat, the territory beyond and stretching into the interior including the region of Tirupati with which we are primarily concerned, was under the government of another, and that chief seems to have been under Śrīranga, the other nominee of emperor Rāma, for the succession. So the reign of this emperor Venkaṭādri began with quarrels between these, and, at one time, the authority of Venkaṭādri as the chief minister seems to have been confined to the region of his own government. It is this that seems to be reflected in the one record that has come down to us from Tirupati of Śrīranga, dated in the year 1638, which says in so many words that Śrīranga was the emperor in that year, which

would ordinarily be impossible as Venkaṭa continued to hold the position till October 1642 when he died and was actually succeeded by Śrīranga. There is absolutely no justification for Śrīranga to give himself these imperial titles, and that he should have done so in an inscription and given publicity to it is evidence of his not acknowledging the right of Venkaṭādri to succeed Rāma, or Dāmarla Venkaṭa the minister to carry on the administration in his name. Whatever be the inner motive, it is clear that the empire was divided against itself as it were, and the administration could not have been one of an undisturbed character even internally. The following extracts from the Company's correspondence throw light on the point. The English factors on the Coromandal coast have had, since 1626, Armagon which they attempted to fortify and make their headquarters. That proved to be unsatisfactory for many reasons, and this dissatisfaction is expressed in several letters. In a letter to Surat from Masulipatam the factors communicated the following regarding Armagon:—

* "Concerning Fort Armagon, it is the place at present upon all occasions we must make use of for our securitie, for which respect wee have valued it so much."—(May 17, 1638.)

* *The English Factories in India*, 1637–1641, p. 73.

* "Then secondly, the Company must give order for the makeinge good a place for the securitie of there estate in India; which how much prejudiz the want hath ben is very visible, for are wee not continually subject, and have not your estates made good all demaunds from tyme to tyme, be it right or wronge? And, lastly, are wee sertayne of continuall peace with the Portugalls and Dutch? Noe; for the peace wee injoy by them is but for theire owne ends. All which being duely considered, twer very requisitt that the makeinge good a place were first put in practiz; from which will arrise these bennifitts; you shalbe ever secur'd of the most part of your estate, and of affront offer'd be enabled to doe (y) ourselves right"—(December 24, 1638.)

† "Att your being here I acquainted you with many kind invitations and larg priviledges by the Nague of (sic) Vincatadra, whose teritories lyes betweene Pullacatt and Santome, the only place for paintings soe much desired at southwards, and likewise greate store of long cloath and morrees which is there procurable. Muster of the later now accompanyes these. I had your consent to make a voyage to the Nague, and therefore sett sayle for those parts the 23th Jully, and

---

* *The English Factories in India*, 1637–1641, p. 90.

† *The English Factories in India*, 1637–1641, pp. 154–56.

arrived the 27th ; where I was entertayned with much honnour by the Nague himselfe etc. merchants, painters, and weavers. Affter some parlay with the Nague, I had free leve to vizt (i) their townes and soe discourse with the merchants, painters, and weavers, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of cloath. I was not furnisht to buy, but only to inquire of their prizes; which with sorrow I heard. Haveing compared boath sorts and prizes with ours as Armagon beleve mee, I lament our masters great losses and cannot blame our freinds at southwards for their offten complaints. The Dutch may well undersell us, when wee overby them 20, 30 and in some sorts 40 per cent. It is a misserie to know a grevance, if possabilityes for remedies bee wanting. You must pardon mee if I say it hath been unusuall in such kinds to make doubts when faire opertunityes for our masters benefitt offered itselfe. I neede not tell you that Armagon is only chargable. The place affords nothing of itselfe ; not soe much as a peece of whit cloath but comes from other places. As far merchants, how misserable poore they are, by the Nagues continuall forceinge, there complying with us and the cloath sent to the southwards speaks loude in confirmation of the misserey of the place, with their backward perfformances. The common arbitrator, Time, hath now made a beneficiall discovery.

Iff you shall please to imbrace such large and secure offers, which the incloased coppie of the firman granted by the Nague will demonstrate, it may give incouragment sufficent; and Francis Day, whoe accompanyes these, wilbe readie to give you a verball relation of the hopes benefit that will attend if a residence were there once setteled. Oppertunity of tyme is to bee followed when such occasions for our masters benifite offers itselfe. Changes of tyme are fickle, and, if you suffer this oppertunitye to pass over, you shall perhaps in vaine, afterwards persue the same when it is fledd and gone. Our envighous neighbours, the Dutch, I dout not but will beestirr themselves to their power in hindering of us what layes in them; yett lett not that discourage you, for all their Machivillian pollicyes will not prevaile. If it should, the Company can be noe loaser, for they run noe hazard. If you will not follow this course, you quite forgoe the way which promiseth assurance, leaveing firme securitye mearely to chance and hazard. And that you may more evidently perceive noe private respects of my owne hath drawne mee to advise you as abovesaid, but only a reall wellwishing to my masters will joyne with a dutious earnest desire to procecut what may bee conceived best for their advantage, (I) doe promise, iff the goods there provided shall not apeare at the southwards 15 per

cent. cheaper then those formerly bought at Armagon, not to lay clayme to any one peney of what shall bee due to mee for all my service from my honnorable imployers; which, did I not tender their proffitt farr before my owne, I would never soe willingly hazard. But why doe I say hazard, being confident I run none, haveing soe good assurance off performance? I forbeare to ad any more, being I am to deliver these with my owne hands. Some few days since, there happened a disaster to a Portugall shipp, richly laden, lyeing in this road, by the insolency of the dareing Dutch, whoe with two shipps from Pullacatt came to take the said shipp".—(August 27, 1639.)

WEAKNESS OF VENKATA'S RULE. A place like Armagon, or any other more satisfactory one was necessary for the trade of the Company, as Gōlkoṇḍa was extending its authority to the south, and English trade had to be protected against encroachment by these, as in the case of Masulipatam itself, where the Gōlkoṇḍa connection had not shown itself to great advantage. Hence the anxiety of the Company's officials to secure a place more satisfactorily placed from the point of view of defence against attacks, and the securing of the kind of goods in which they traded more advantageously than at Armagon.

This factory was fortified in 1626 with a view to this, but it proved unsatisfactory from the point of view of the two objects, namely, defence and the advantageous purchase of the goods. Francis Day who was in charge of the factory therefore was much exercised since he came in charge of the factory in 1634. As early as January 1637 he went down to inspect a site in Pondicherry where he had an offer. Later on, the Dutch at any rate, wrote that the English were making an effort to effect a settlement at Kōvaḷam (Covelong), although the English factors disowned any such intention. In the meanwhile, the political circumstances round the locality were changing rapidly. The ascendency of the Dāmarla brothers did not appear to have been to the liking of the other governors, among them the really more influential ones, the chief factor in this case being Śrīranga, the nephew of the ruling emperor Venkaṭa, who seems to have had a government in the region set over against Armagon with his headquarters at Chandragiri possibly, as perhaps his inscription in Tirupati would indicate. We are not sure whether the emperor Venkaṭa was actually in residence there. He might have been in Vellore where the great Venkatapaṭi had been in residence for four or five years after putting down the rebellion of Lingama Nāyaka. These two at least, Śrīranga

as a subordinate governor, and Dāmarla Venkaṭa as governor and minister seem to have assumed a pronounced attitude of hostility to each other, so that at one time the Company's servants write to say that the minister's authority was closely confined to the territory extending from Pulicat to San Thome. Another disturbing factor which had to be taken into account at the time urgently was the possible advance of Gōlkoṇḍa more actively now than ever before. The Mughal emperor Shah Jahan had actively intervened in the affairs of the Dakhan, and had subdued the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and annexed it to his territory, forming a Dakhan viceroyalty with its headquarters at Burhanpur. But what concerns us is that he was able to impose upon both Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa a treaty in 1636 which made them recognise his position as emperor, and, at the same time, granted them freedom to extend their authority southwards of their territory, while they were shut off from doing so on the northern side. It was then that the understanding between Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur was come to that the one should extend its authority and make its conquests in the territory of the Hindu empire above the Ghāts and the other below, so that they might not clash against each other and come to war. The region with which we are concerned, it will be seen readily, fell to the share of Gōlkoṇḍa,

and Gōlkoṇḍa was gradually extending its power. Being the nearer and therefore liable to be attacked first, it was Śrīranga's business to be watchful. He apparently took the necessary steps to extend his authority effectively down to the coast and fortify himself against Gōlkoṇḍa advance to the best of his ability. From the Company's letters we see that he placed himself in strength at Armagon and Venkaṭagiri, and formed a line of defence against the Dutch and the Portuguese. This would naturally mean that the direct authority of the Nāyak in Armagon became the greater and in addition to the other defects of the place, the presence of the Vijayanagar governor and perhaps his forces near about would make Armagon much more unpleasant. After a considerable amount of search for a suitable locality, Day decided to effect a settlement at Madras in that territory under the government of Dāmarla Venkaṭa with a charter from the emperor obtained through his good offices. A recommendation was made by him which was supported by Cogan at Masulipatam when he came into authority there, and accepted by Surat and ultimately by the Directors. There were difficulties in the way of paying all the dues from the Company, and collecting sums advanced at Armagon. All that was done by August 22, 1639 and a document was obtained which conferred the trade privileges to

the Company at Madras, and allowed them to fortify a bit of land which lay to the south of the small village Madraspatam which again was situated to the south of Channapaṭṭaṇam, the present-day Madras town. It must have been in the course of these transactions that the strain in the relations between Śrīranga and Dāmarla Venkaṭa should have been great enough to justify Śrīranga regarding himself as ruling the empire, as in fact he was fighting the battles of the empire as against Gōlkoṇḍa as Emperor Venkaṭa's predecessors had done. It took a great deal of correspondence and negotiations before the English could settle finally about the abandonment of Armagon, and the commencement of the fortifications of Madras, against the machinations of the Dutch on one side and the dissatisfaction to some extent of the Portuguese at San Thome, who themselves offered at one time to accommodate them in San Thome itself. While these negotiations were in progress Venkaṭa, the emperor, died and Śrīranga succeeded, as it appears with the support only of a party notwithstanding emperor Rāma's previous nomination; the opposition, of course, had been led by Dāmarla Venkaṭa and those in sympathy with him. Śrīranga was however, allowed to succeed to the empire in October 1642.

FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS. Some years before this, probably in 1640 or 1641, the English factors settled down in Madras. Fort St. George already begins to figure in the correspondence of 1642, and an English factory was there, the English themselves exercising authority, as a letter written apparently in September of that year refers to a Portuguese having been executed for the murder of an English soldier within the limits of the English settlement. At about the same time, we hear of the Nāyak of Armagon having been crushed between the Hindu and the Muhammadan power now fighting against each other in the region just on the eve of the death of emperor Venkaṭa. It proved lucky for the English that they had shifted their headquarters to Madras, as else they should have been caught in the wars between the Gōlkoṇḍa troops and those of Śriranga in the region round Armagon. The fort at Madras was being rapidly constructed and the Company's servants were pushing on with it as, on account of the wars between the Nāyaks which were likely to endanger their position, it turns out from the Company's letters that Dāmarla Venkaṭa was actually negotiating with Gōlkoṇḍa against Śrīranga, and, having been discovered, he was thrown into prison, another governor having been appointed in his place. The new emperor Śrīranga had to fight strenuously both against

Gōlkoṇḍa and against the disaffected governors within the empire. In the meanwhile, the Company's servants seem to have felt it necessary to obtain a confirmation of the agreement regarding Madras. While they were making the necessary preparations to send one of their members, Mr. Greenhill, on his mission to Śrīranga, Śrīranga had succeeded in bringing the rebel governors under control and putting himself in a position of safety. He now made Vellore his headquarters to which Greenhill's mission went in 1645. In this year the charter was confirmed by Śrīrangarāyalu, who had to make provision against the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa troops. In a letter that the Company's servants wrote on August 28, 1643, they say that the wars among the Nāyaks were raging at the time, and that Śrīranga managed to bring in the help of the king of Bijapur and put an end to this trouble. He succeeded ultimately in bringing the various governors to a sense of loyalty, and even managed successfully to dismiss the Bijapur troops at the end of the war. The governor who was appointed instead of Dāmarla Venkaṭa happened to be one Mallaiya. He was found intriguing with Gōlkoṇḍa, and Śrīranga had to get rid of him. The work of fortifying Madras was progressing rapidly, though in haphazard fashion for lack of funds. The Company's people

mention incidentally the prevalence of wars in the immediate neighbourhood owing to the advance of Gōlkoṇḍa troops, and even state it specifically that these troops were demanding the submission of the Portuguese at San Thome, and the English were expecting a similar demand in their turn. But very soon they found the Hindu forces appearing near Fort St. George, and thus gave them relief. In the September of 1645, the factors reported that the Dutch goods in the hands of weavers were seized by the soldiers of Mallaiya and they themselves were afraid of a similar treatment; but a letter inviting them to send down some one of them to the emperor Śrīranga at Vellore was received, which intimated at the same time that the Dutch goods were seized under the orders of the emperor. It was then that the mission of Greenhill went to Vellore and obtained a charter confirming the grant of Madraspatam. One additional condition was suggested that Fort St. George, being to the south of the village Madraspatam separately, might be called Śrīrangarāyalupaṭṭaṇam in the name of the emperor. The name however does not appear to have taken root. With 1645 therefore we reach one stage in the progress of Śrīranga in the establishment of his authority as emperor of Vijayanagar.

TIRUPATI IN SRI-RANGA'S WARS WITH GOLKONDA &c. The year 1645 found emperor Śrīranga comfortably installed in Vellore as the imperial capital and, for a brief space of time, he was in the enjoyment of his well earned rest but it was not to be for long. The Bijapur armies having been baulked once before under the walls of Vellore marched in force again. Having been beaten back in the Guḍiyāttam pass, they made a detour, and arrived before the walls of Vellore again through the Salem District and the Āttūr pass debouching into the plains by way of Changama on the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Road. They were in far greater force than before and had the better of it in the following battle. The Bijapur forces under Mustafakhan and Shahji ultimately prevailed, and Śrīranga had to enter into a treaty with them and remain content with the territory round Chandragiri. This treaty placed him between the advancing forces of Gōlkoṇḍa on the one side and the Bijapur forces marching down from the Mysore plateau towards Gingee on the other. His position which was already difficult had become really precarious now.

VIJAYANAGAR AUTHORITY STILL ACKNOWLEDGED TO THE BORDERS OF GOLKONDA. Amidst the dark shadows that are falling fast over the Empire of Vijayanagar in this region, comes an unlooked

for gleam of light somewhat doubtful, but withal very interesting. A pair of copper plate grants which seem to be more or less duplicates, coming from Nandiyāl in the Kurnool District, refer themselves to the reign of Vīrapratāpa Śrī-rangarāya Dēva Mahārāya ruling from Penugoṇḍa and dated in the Ś. year 1569 (A. D. 1647). The plates register a grant for conducting the festival of the *chappram* (a small decorated car on which the god is taken in procession) of the God Venkaṭēśa. This seems more or less a voluntary grant made up by subscription from a certain number of professional castes and other inhabitants of the Pedda Nandiyāl *Sīma*. The grant is said to have been made to an individual by name Timmaiya, son of a *Chappram Dāsari* Saruvaiya, and is recorded to have been for the merit of *Hazarati Khāna Khāna Sāhēbulavāru*. The grant comes from the priest of the local Venkaṭēśa temple, which, as the Government epigraphist points out, is by no means an old temple, and is more or less a small local shrine. The mention of the Chappram Dāsari Saruvaiya seems to confirm his surmise that it must have been a service intended for God Venkaṭēśa at Tirupati. A *Chappram Dāsari* would mean a *Dāsari*, a peripatetic non-Brahman going about collecting funds for the purpose of celebrating a festival of some kind or other, and, in this case, the

Chappram, Car festival. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of its character, the grant indicates two things clearly, *viz.*, that that part of the Kurnool District bordering on Cuddapah recognised the authority of the Vijayanagar emperor in 1647, although it happened to be actually under the government, it may be, of *Khāna Khāna Sāhēbulavāru*, which could mean no other than the Khān-i-Khanān of Gōlkoṇḍa exercising authority there. This would mean the commander-in-chief of the Quṭub Shah for the time being, Abdulla Quṭub Shah. If the record proves to be genuine, it would certainly be a very interesting record in the history of Śrī-ranga, in the actual circumstances of the times.

GOLKONDA GRADUALLY SUPERSEDES SRIRANGA IN THIS REGION. The main objective of the Bijapur invasion was Gingee which ultimately fell to them in 1649, and the Vijayanagar viceroyalty of Gingee came to an end along with it. The fall of Gingee opened the eyes of the southern viceroys of the empire to make them see the folly of the divisions among themselves, and their hostility to Śrīranga. But from what we know of the subsequent events we could not well assert that it did bring about any very definite improvements in their relations sufficiently powerful to turn the scale. However it enabled

Śrīranga to exert himself more strenuously than before, and recover so far as to take possession of Tirupati and places near about in that region. In fact the Dutch records have it that " the Chandragiri Rāja with an army of 8,000 men captured the pagoda of Tirupati, and then designed the conquest of the districts of Conjivaram, Chingleput, Carmigaelypatam and Pulicat." We might almost feel that that was perhaps the last flicker of the dying candle. The period immediately following enabled him to get together considerable assistance from the officers of the south and make another effort, this time, principally against the insubordinate ruler of Mysore, which to the Company's servants, seemed as though he were recovering power. They mention about his gaining in power in the region of the Tanjore country and of the Gōlkoṇḍa forces being near about Madras in an effort to oppose his advance. A record of 1667 states it that " the Gentues are now geathering to a head against the Moores; and if they should bee victorious, they would endeavour to doe us a discourtesy, and regard by the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly hath byn let them (*i.e.*, the Moors) by your Agents here they (*i.e.*, the Gentues) lost their countrey." Since the flight of Mirjumla from Hyderabad and his obtaining the grant of the

Carnatic territory as a fief from the emperor Shah Jahan, there has been an effort on his side to gain a better hold upon his territory. It ultimately succeeded to the extent of making the immediate surroundings of Madras a part of his territory some time about 1668. Tirupati again figures in this period in the British correspondence; and we are told that a Brahman emissary was sent by the English Company at Fort St. George to Neknam Khan who was in charge of this region at the time in behalf of Gōlkoṇḍa, Mirjumla having died. He had to go to Tirupati to see the Neknam Khan's lieutenant in this region and this person is called Chinnappaḷḷi Mirza,* a queer name which seems on the face of it rather difficult of an explanation. Chinnappaḷḷi Mirza sent forward the emissary to see Neknam

---

* Notwithstanding a suggestion offered by Mr. Rangachari that Chinappaḷḷi was a place in the Guntur district, Sir W. Foster, Editor of the Series, *English Factories in India*, leaves the name unexplained as he was not aware of the Muhammadans taking a name in combination with places, such as this would involve. Chinnappaḷḷi Mirza need not be regarded as strictly a Muhammadan name. While Mirza could be a name among the Muhammadans, it perhaps means here nothing more than a title of dignity almost corresponding to prince, and if Chinnappaḷḷi was his *Jāghīr*, he could very well have the name Chinnappaḷḷi Mirza in popular parlance, such as we now-a-days hear of a Maṇḍapam Marakkāyar or Iḷayānguḍi Rāvuttar, and titles like that; *Marakkāyar* and *Rāvuttar* being simply the titles of these Muhammadan gentlemen, and the place names being nothing more than the place of their residence or of their business. So this Chinnappaḷḷi Mirza may well be a name like that.

Khan at Gōlkoṇḍa. Tirupati was probably regarded as centrally placed for commanding the whole district round about; and the Company's letter further goes on to describe the conquest farther south and even of the good offices of Ayyappa Nāyaka that they obtained. That is almost the last occasion in which we meet with matters concerning the last emperor of Vijayanagar, Śrīranga, in the Company's correspondence. Thereafter he seems to pass into Mysore, and, after perhaps another vain effort with the aid of the Nāyak of Ikkēri to recover the empire we cease to hear of him.

CONDITION OF TIRUPATI DURING THE PERIOD. So during the whole of this period, although we do hear occasionally of Tirupati, we hear very little indeed of its condition of life. In fact we could hardly expect these sources to throw any light upon a matter like that. The Gōlkoṇḍa advance began about the year 1638 and lasted practically the length of a generation, thirty years roughly. The correspondence, at least in one place mentions that the wealth of Mir Jumla was enormous because of the vast plunder that he got from the South Indian temples that he conquered, while among the temples which came within the purview of his conquests, the temple at Tirupati would be one of the most prominent

ones, and surely it must have been one of the richest. Temples like Kāḷahasti, Conjivaram, and a number of others that could be mentioned certainly do come within the sphere of his activity. That is about all that we could hear of regarding Tirupati in these campaigns in addition to the fact the Śrīranga made three efforts on separate occasions to recover Tirupati. He succeeded in recovering it in 1656, and perhaps lost it again so that it remained a Gōlkoṇḍa possession afterwards. We may perhaps take it that though Tirupati suffered by the Muhammadan conquest, it continued otherwise in considerable strength to be fit for being the headquarters of a sub-governor like Chinnappaḻḻi Mirza to place himself there in a position of advantage. From 1670 onwards we lose sight of Tirupati from this correspondence. As a temple much sought after and visited by a stream of pilgrims all the year round who made large donations and added to the resources of the temple, we hear really nothing, and we may have to take it that, having regard to the disturbed state of the country, the pilgrim activity must have ceased, if not altogether, at least to a very great extent. While we may take it that Tirupati continued to be in existence, it had ceased to be what it has hitherto been a prosperous and much frequented pilgrim centre.

CHAPTER XIV.

MYSORE AND TIRUPATI.

MYSORE RISING OUT OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE. The period covered above, since the reign of the great Venkaṭapatirāya who died in 1614 from which date we might almost say that the inscriptional records of the ruling dynasty ceased in Tirupati, corresponds more or less to the period of rule of the dynasty of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore; and some of the members of this dynasty, the ancestors of His Highness the Mahārāja, almost from the beginning, were interested in Tirupati, and made donations from time to time which still continue and are maintained undiminished, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of history. We stated already that Rāja Oḍayār, the founder of this ruling family was ruler in his own right of a certain number of villages in the Mysore district and was regarded as a ruler of importance and influence among his colleagues under the empire of Vijayanagar; and therefore subordinate to the authority of the Vijayanagar viceroy of Śrīrangapatām. In the later years of the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya, as emperor, he had installed his nephew, son of his elder brother Rāma who

was himself viceroy of Śrīrangapatām in the position of his father. This young viceroy does not appear to have conducted himself in a way to earn the approbation of his uncle, the emperor, and gave cause perhaps for much dissatisfaction which was taken advantage of by the enterprising Rāja Oḍayār to make his position in Śrīranga-patām impossible. He ultimately succeeded in ejecting him from his viceroyalty, and put himself in his place instead. What was really more, as a master stroke of diplomacy, he managed to get the approval and sanction of the ruling emperor, Venkaṭapatirāya, for what he did and obtained from him a charter for ruling over the territory that he took possession of from the viceroy of Śrīrangapatām. That is the charter of foundation of the Mysore ruling family. Rāja Oḍayār's conquest of Śrīrangapatām is dated 1610, and Venkaṭapatirāya's charter 1612. Thereafter this dynasty has been continuously ruling Mysore except for the period when the power was taken by Hydar Ali and his son Tippu who ruled over Mysore during the last forty years almost of the eighteenth century. At the end of the war between the East India Company and Tippu the territory was restored to the ruling family, whose authority was held in suspense during the period of Muhammadan rule. Since then, 1801, there has been a succession of three rulers including

his present Highness, with a fifty years' break in the reign of his present Highness' grandfather, the British having taken over the administration. During the whole of this period, the rulers of this dynasty, several of whom were religiously minded orthodox princes, regarded Tirupati as among the holy places worth their attention; and each, according to his own inclinations in regard to the matter, made donations to Tirupati, several of which happen to fall within the period of Muhammadan domination of the region round Tirupati we referred to above. It is perhaps due to this fact that these donations are not recorded in inscriptions in the temple at Tirupati, and this would account for the absence of inscriptions recording donations in the shrine during the period. Luckily we have records elsewhere of the donations of the Mysore ruling family to the temple beginning with Rāja Oḍayār himself and coming down to the present ruler. Before taking up the story of these comparatively modern donations, perhaps it would be well to go back upon a slight retrospect tracing the connection of Mysore with Tirupati to which attention has already been drawn in one of the previous chapters.

PRE-VIJAYANAGAR ASSOCIATION OF MYSORE WITH TIRUPATI: The first great dynasty that held rule over the whole of what constitutes the state of

Mysore now, was the Hoyśāla dynasty. This dynasty in the course of its history felt bound to extend its authority into South India, in support of the Chōḻas as against Pāṇḍya aggression from the south and internal rebellion This interest in the affairs of the Chōḻas, and the consequent interference to which it led, became so frequent and necessary since the rule of the Hoyśāla Narasimha II who has had to interfere there several times in favour of the ruling Chōḻa. His son Vīra Sōmēśvara thought it more convenient to make an alternative capital for his residence near one of the Chōḻa capitals Uraiyūr. He fortified a place across the Coleroon on the northern side of Śrīrangam, Uṛaiyūr being just on the southern side near Trichinopoly town. This became the southern Hoyśāla capital, Tiruvikramapura, in which Sōmēśvara himself resided till he was defeated by the great Pāṇḍya Jaṭāvaraman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. His successors, two sons really, felt, having regard to the political condition of the times, that the Hoyśālas had to stand Janus-faced against the Yādavas advancing from the north and the Pāṇḍyas from the south under Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya himself and his successors, dividing the territory between themselves, as it were each with his own distinct sphere of duty and a capital of his own. Narasimha ruled from the ancestral Halēbīḍ, the

northern part of the Hoyśāla kingdom, in fact the ancestral territory of the Hoyśālas, and took charge of the war against the Yādavas, which was becoming pretty frequent. His half brother Rāmanātha made Kaṇṇanūr (Vikramapura) near Śrīrangam his capital and ruled over all the territory under Hoyśāla authority in the Tamil-country keeping Pāṇḍya aggressions within limits. When these rulers passed away, the empire again united in the person of the emperor Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III, son of Narasimha III, who took over all the southern territory also from his cousin Viśvanātha, son of Rāmanātha, who had but a short reign. This was in the last years of the thirteenth century, and, when the new century dawned, what was the Chōḷa empire got dismembered. The Pāṇḍyas, their successors, found it difficult to maintain their authority in full in the distant north of the Chōḷa empire owing to the activity of the more powerful feudatories of the Chōḷas as well as the rising activity of the Kākatīyas whom later Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's conquest had provoked into activity. Vīra Baḷḷāḷa and his officers felt it necessary to interest themselves in this region; and this need was only increased when the Muhammadan advance in the south began, and the efforts that Vīra Baḷḷāḷa made to stem the tide of these invasions against which he struggled hard not unsuccessfully.

In the course of the twenty years following the first incursions of the Muhammadan in the distant south things had so shaped themselves that the Hoyśāla was able gradually to advance his authority in the region round Tirupati, and ultimately place himself in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai as a really more strategic centre for almost the same reasons that his predecessor Sōmeśvara felt for fortifying a capital at Kaṇṇanūr. Among records in the Tirupati temple, we find some to which we have already made reference in a previous Chapter, relating to the great Perumāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka, who was the principal minister of Narasimha III and even of Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III in the first years of his reign. The Daṇṇāyakankōṭṭai chiefs were successors of this Perumāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka. This minister was succeeded by two of his sons, who held similar positions successively, one following the other. Kētayya Daṇḍanāyaka was the elder of the two, and Śingayya Daṇḍanāyaka was the younger. We have records of these having instituted food-services in the temple at Tirupati, one of these services being named with the characteristic Mysorean title of *Sitagara Gaṇḍa*, a title assumed by Perumāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka as a result of a successful war against the Yādava enemies that he had to fight against on the northern side of Mysore territory. This family seems to have been

allied with the Yādavarāya rulers who held authority in the region of Tirupati, and that made their association with Tirupati really more natural than that of the officers or viceroys of a distant ruler. Their inscriptions carry us to the early thirties of the fourteenth century, and thereby give us clear indication that Hoyśāla Vīra Baḷḷāḷa with his capital in Tiruvaṇṇāmalai had secured the country, behind him in support of his position. Mysore services to the temple at Tirupati began with the agents of this Hoyśāla, and the "*Sitagara Gaṇḍan Saṇḍi*" is indubitable evidence of the association of Mysore with this holy shrine.

THE PRESENT DYNASTY OF MYSORE AND THE TIRUPATI TEMPLE. With the disappearance of the authority of Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III in this region as well as elsewhere the actual authority changes to the rulers of Vijayanagar, whose centre of authority, or capital, was just outside the northern frontiers of Mysore of the present time, but took into it the whole of not merely what is Mysore to-day but what was the extended Hoyśāla territory in the period immediately preceding. We have already noticed that under the first dynasty of Vijayanagar the shrine at Tirupati comes in for attention now and again in association with the names even of the ruling sovereigns

for the time being. There is however no particular record of any direct donations or services to the temple set down to the credit of individual monarchs; but indirectly the names of Bukka I and the great Dēvarāya, Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar, appear in these records and account for certain services. Among these are some donations by Sāḷuva Guṇḍa, an officer who played an important part in the campaigns of Kumāra Kampaṇa in the South. The accession of Mallikārjuna to the throne, and the appearance of the Sāḷuvas as prominent officials of the empire bring the relation between the ruling family at Vijayanagar and the temple at Tirupati in closer relationship, particularly through the Sāḷuvas, whose territory comprised the region round Tirupati and whose hereditary capital was at Chandragiri, not far from Tirupati. During the period of Sāḷuva ascendency, Tirupati may almost be regarded as a temple for the prosperity of which the Sāḷuvas made themselves responsible. When the authority passed from the Sāḷuvas to their successors, members of the Tuḷuva dynasty, the religious attachment to the temple continued and reached its zenith under Krishṇadēvarāya and Achyuta, as we have described above, and continued under the rulers of the next succeeding dynasty, generally known as the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijaynagar till we

come to the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya, and the foundation of the independent kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Oḍayār. Although the family from which these rulers sprang may be counted as perhaps *Śaiva* and certainly had very considerable *Śaiva* associations, Rāja Oḍayār seems to have been personally a Vaishṇava. He is said to have been responsible for the construction of the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple within the palace precincts at Mysore, and though no inscriptional record of his has come down to us in connection with his donations to Tirupati, a work, *The Annals of the Present Royal Family of Mysore* records his having presented to the God at Tirupati an umbrella with pendants of real pearls and other articles required for worship and offerings, as well as dress. He also provided for the burning of a perpetual lamp in the sanctum, and for a daily *Sahasranāma* worship with provision for food-services. The same work credits Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Oḍayār (1639—1659) with services to the temple at Tirupati along with others, such as those of the Śiva temple at Nanjangūḍu and the Vishṇu temple at Mēlkōṭṭai, as well as other temples, each according to its own standing. The next ruler of the dynasty to have shown particular devotion to this Temple is Doḍḍa Dēvarāja Oḍayār who succeeded Kanṭhīrava Narasa. He

is said to have provided for a garden of basil (*tulasi*) at Tirupati and presented to the God a pavilion set with gems for seating the God, and provided for a daily service of food for offering which he provided two large vessels of gold. His successor, in many ways the greatest ruler of the dynasty, Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍayār (1672–1704), made his donations to Tirupati along with a number of holy places. He was responsible for the building of the Varāha temple within the building of the Mysore fort, wherein he installed the Varāha image which he brought from Śrīmushṇam which had suffered from the depredations of the recent Muhammadan invasions. He provided in the temple at Tirupati for the burning of a perpetual lamp fed with ghee, and for the performance of worship with *Sahasranāma* as also a service of food to be offered in gold vessels as in the case of his predecessors. The next ruler of importance is Doḍḍa Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār, who followed after Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍayār's son and successor. He instituted daily services, and special services on occasions of great festivals in the temple at Tirupati and for the perpetual maintenance of these, he provided, from the revenues of a certain number of villages specified, 600 *Kanṭhīrāi Varāhas.* He issued a copper-plate grant for this purpose in 1730, and marked off the villages themselves with boundary stones with the

characteristic Vishṇu marks of the conch and the disc. The inscriptions of this ruler, such as No. 37 at Kuṇigal in the Tumkur district of 1662, and No. 54 of Yeḍattore dated 1666 make general statements and refer to the large number of charities instituted by him in holy places, such as Kāśi, Jagannātha, Tirupati, etc. He was known to have been a particularly religious minded and charitable ruler even among the members of this generally pious minded ruling dynasty. The next ruler is one known as Chikka-krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār, at the end of whose reign Haidar Ali assumed the administrative power in the state. He heard that the gold vessels and the umbrella with pearl pendants, the gift of his ancestor Rāja Oḍayār, had both become so damaged by use at Tirupati that they were no more fit for service. He satisfied himself by examination that it was so, and, at great expenditure, provided new articles similar to those that had been presented, thus renewing the great services of his predecessor; and, not satisfied with that, he provided for certain services of his own and other presentations of value. Among the articles that he renewed happen to be mentioned two small gold umbrellas presented by Chikka Dēva Rāja Oḍayār which do not find mention in the latter's donations. In addition to presentation on his own account of gold and silver ornaments and

vessels necessary for various services in the temple, he also presented costly dresses and two large gold vessels for offering food to the deity which was to be distributed among the worshippers daily after service to God. This is information traceable in the inscriptions and the chronicle history of the ruling family preserved in the *Rājavaṁśāvaḷi* of Mysore supplied by Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore and his assistant Mr. R. Rama Rao.

TIRUPATI IN MYSORE OFFICIAL RECORDS. The Muzarai department in Mysore which has charge of the Mysore charities of the temple at Tirupati, as of other temples and religious institutions within the state and elsewhere, have in their records material of value. I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, the Revenue and Muzarai Commissioner of Mysore, for a valuable note and a number of documents in authority which he very kindly supplied me on request for this purpose. The documents in this office do not reach beyond 1730 and Doḍḍa Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār referring to the grant of 600 "*Kanṭhīrāi Varāhas.*" According to the records in this office, the Mahārāja Srī Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār III, the grandfather of His present Highness made valuable presents of his own in addition to seeing that the charities made by Mysore rulers before

him were maintained unimpaired, the *Akhaṇḍa Dīpa* (unbroken light) to be perpetually maintained, is maintained even now at a cost of Rs. 4,300 per annum. The food-services continue both in the temple on the hill and in the temple at Tirucchānūr. On occasions of great festivals, articles of service presented by the Mysore rulers still occupy the most prominent place. There is a choultry on the hill where free food is supplied to pilgrims, and that is maintained by the Mysore state even now. This institution is maintained with so much care that as late as 1901, the Government passed a special order that nobody should be refused food for want of funds, and made additional allotments to meet the larger demand. They recently added to this charitable service by the construction of a *chatram* at Lower Tirupati in memory of His Highness' father the late Mahārāja Śrī Chāmarājēndra Oḍayār Bahadur. Later still they purchased a couple of houses on the south street of the tank *Pādmasaras* at Tirucchānūr, and they are available for pilgrims for the various purposes for which they go there, for halting on pilgrimage, celebration of marriages, and such other occasions when accommodation is required. In addition to these they are making arrangements for the construction of buildings for pilgrims other than Brahmans. As in the case of religious institutions in the State, the charities of Mysore in Tirupati are under the control of the Muzarai

Commissioner who looks after these as a Government department, though the funds, etc., are kept separate, and kept apart. The principle was long ago laid down, by the great Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar that these charitable foundations, may be managed by the state for purposes of efficient working but must be kept apart strictly, and not mixed up with the affairs of the state, to avoid the state being made to suffer for any sins of bad management in respect of these religious institutions. The scale of expenditure which the Mysore Government provides for the charity at Tirupati is set down below as revised by a Government Order in 1928 :—

		Rs.	A.	P.
I.	(a) Services in the Hill temple.	6,143	0	0
	(b) Do. Tirucchānūr temple.	610	0	0
II.	Daily and hetchukaṭle feeding.	6,040	0	0
III.	Payment to Maṭhas ...	544	0	0
IV.	Temple Establishment ...	447	0	0
V.	Chattram establishment ...	906	0	0
VI.	Office ...	2,272	0	0
VII.	Miscellaneous (including annual maintenance).	527	9	6
VIII.	Muzarai Establishment Fund ...	1,000	0	0
IX.	Construction of Chattram for non-Brahmans.	1,500	0	0
	Total ...	19,989	9	6

Among the *nirūpas* and *sannads* of which copies have been supplied to me by the Revenue Commissioner's kindness, I find one of date 1738, which provides an annual revenue of 156 *Kanṭhīrāi varāhas* for the festival of the deity being carried on the back of an elephant (*Ānai Vāhanam*), in addition to the 600 *varāhas* granted for general purposes in 1732. The next *nirūpa* is dated 1804, which must have been during the reign of Mahārāja Krishṇa Rāja Oḍayār III. This provides for an additional revenue of 117 *varāhas* granted in Tirupati. The caution is given in the order itself that the lands ought to be managed with care, so that the amount of revenue may not diminish. In 1815, an order was issued appointing a Sheristadar for the management of the *chatram* at Tirupati. A document of 1818 calls upon the Manager of these charities at Tirupati to report whether the *pūjas* are being performed regularly, ordering the submission of regular periodical reports on the matter. Another interesting document of 1819 approved of the action of the Manager of the state charities in Tirupati, transferring articles, &c., sent by the Śrī Parakālasvāmi of the time for service during a certain *Brahmōtsava*. The Manager transferred these to the *chatram* Sheristadar and his action was approved. It also enjoined upon the Manager that he should have the custody of the

seal. An order dated 1820 intimates a remittance of Rs. 4,000 from the Fouj Katchēri, Bangalore, towards the expenses of the feeding house. The Fouj Katchēri is the office of the Foujdar who was in charge of the Bangalore Division. There was a circular the year before to the officers of the state ordering that facilities be provided for comfortable and safe travelling to the Sheristadar of the Tirupati *chatram* who came to render accounts and was returning with all the records etc., back to Tirupati. An order of July 1823 enjoins the carrying out of repairs to several buildings at Tirupati, and calls upon the Manager to send forward a nominee of his for appointment as Superintendent of the *chatram.* So from the commencement of the eighteenth century right on to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth there has been a good control maintained in respect of these charities of Mysore in Tirupati.

Mysore occasionally figures in the complicated transactions between the Nawab of Arcot, the Nizam, the Maharattas, and the East India Company, in the course of the wars which terminated in the establishment of the Madras Presidency. We shall note them in the proper place. But it must be noted in passing here that the benefactions of Mysore to the temple, and the continued interest that Mysore evinced in the

affairs of Tirupati, are in evidence in the popular mind, as several monumental works of other patrons even are generally referred to as owing to Mysore. As one prominent instance, it may be mentioned that the second *gōpura* at the foot of the main steps, which was built by Maṭla Kumāra Ananta as the other, the Sāḷuva Narasimha tower, had got to be placed aside perhaps by a realignment of the approach, is now-a-days called Mysore *gōpuram*, notwithstanding the inscriptions on the structure itself. It is just possible that Mysore was responsible, partly or fully, for the realignement of the path, or it may be repairs to the *gōpuram* itself. In any case, it indicates an ordinarily prevailing notion in the people that Mysore was ready for benefactions of all kinds in regard to Tirupati.

CHAPTER XV.

TIRUPATI UNDER HINDU RULE.

ORGANISATION OF WORSHIP IN TIRUPATI AT THE BEGINNING. We have taken up the benefactions of the Hindu state of Mysore to the temple at Tirupati here with a view to completing the history of Tirupati under Hindu rule as it were. The change that brought the territory round Tirupati under Muhammadan rule introduced almost a revolution and will be taken up later separately. But before proceeding to that, it would perhaps be useful here to summarise the details given in the previous pages and gain an idea of the general character of the administration of the affairs of the temple at Tirupati under Hindu rule. We have noticed that, on the basis of the accounts of the *Purāṇas* and the stray references that we get to Tirupati in classical Tamil literature, we would be on safe ground to regard its history as having commenced with the Christian era almost, and, since we find the Śangam classics of Tamil referring to the place as already remarkable for its festivals, we can be fairly clear that the temple had some kind of an organisation that could see to

the conduct of regular festivals even in those early times. This necessarily involves some kind of an income and expenditure, although we do not know for certain what the income was, and how that income came, and how that income was actually expended. From thence onward to the end of the first millennium, down to the early Chōḷa times really, the temple seems to have been more or less under the management of this floating organisation of a handful of devotees, perhaps mainly Brahmans though not exclusively, who were in residence there or who were only habitual visitors to the holy shrine. We also hear of the Toṇḍamān ruler of the locality having organised the main annual festival, the *Brahmōtsava* in the month of *Puraṭṭāśi* (September-October), of each year. We have some stray references to the building of the interior portion of the temple round the sanctum, the planting of a small garden, and such small details. We are not however furnished with any definite details during this period as to any property, or other sources of income, that the temple might have had. We may safely take it that the temple actually depended upon such gifts as the pious pilgrims, and perhaps the inhabitants near about the region, felt compelled to make to the temple and its annual requirements.

ORGANISATION OF WORSHIP FROM THE LATER PALLAVA TIMES TO COMING OF VIJAYANAGAR. We come to inscriptional grants to the temple with the Pallava ruler, the successor of the great Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who ruled in the 8th century; and therefore the first inscriptional grants would go back to the end of the 8th century. From thence onwards we have records of occasional grants making over money sometimes, sometimes other sources of income. This continued under the early Chōḻas, some of the earlier monarchs of this dynasty making grants also to the temple. We have grants of the great Rājarāja's mother and of Rājarāja himself, and thereafter we come upon a series of occasional grants to the temple by various persons and parties from time to time. These constitute a comparatively small number; but even so this gives us clear indication that there was some kind of an organisation administering the affairs of the temple which could be trusted with gifts of a lasting character like these. But, as we advance further on in the period, there emerges more clearly the community of worshippers of the temple described as the Vaishṇavas of the locality, who probably had the management and who were actually entrusted with such grants and benefactions as were made to the temple. The general kind of organisation of temple

management was more or less that which prevailed all over the country, and we may therefore presume that a similar organisation existed in respect of this temple as well. That state of things continued till some of the local dynasties came to play a more important part, and evince a more active interest in the affairs of the temple. It is just in the beginning of this new interest that the intervention of Rāmānuja was called for. Rāmānuja's advent, whatever the actual historical circumstances which called for his presence there, was nothing unusual, as Rāmānuja had, as head of the Vaishṇavas in Śrīrangam to look after the management of the affairs of the temple at Śrīrangam. Probably the other Vaishṇava shrines, such as Conjivaram, etc., must also have had organisations of a similar kind. But Rāmānuja's efforts to organise worship in the temple of Tirupati is but a continuation of the interest exhibited in the welfare of the shrine by even his ancestors, Nādamuni and Āḷavandār, who preceded him in the Vaishṇavá pontificate. So Rāmānuja's intervention in the matter would have been but natural. But, if his intervention had been sought, as seems probable, through the local ruler, the Yādavarāja for the time being, his position would be more responsible and even more advantageous for the regular organisation of worship in the

temple. So it appears from a work, *Śrī Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* composed by a Vaishṇava Āchārya of the locality, Anandāḻvār by name, who may have come a few generations after Rāmānuja and lived in Tirupati. The organisation as laid down by Rāmānuja seems the organisation which, with comparatively minor changes, obtains down to date. He made arrangements for the conduct of the details of the worship and the appointment of various Vaishṇava Brahmans and others for the several details connected therewith, such as even the fetching of water for the ablution of the image of the God and the provision of flowers and other articles of worship required for the temple. These extended further to all details of temple-worship, including the building and the care of the structures then existing and to come into existence afterwards. He seems to have started the practice of entrusting the management in various of its branches to single men, Brahman, sometimes also Non-Brahman, called *Ēkāngis*, some of them ascetic, others not necessarily so. The object of such an institution, so far as Rāmānuja was concerned, was to secure disinterested management and to prevent peculation of temple properties and funds. The period immediately following Rāmānuja for a century, and perhaps constituting five or six generations was one in which his organisation obtained and

worked successfully, under the supervision of the local rulers, principally the Yādavarājas who were in charge of the region. The Yādavarājas and even their successors took a real interest in the matter and took care that Rāmānuja's arrangements were allowed to continue. With the Muhammadan invasion of the South, and the consequent dislocation of the local organisation which that caused, a renewed organisation seemed called for, and the organisation of the temple-worship and temple management takes a new start when the Hoyśāla authority gets slowly to prevail over the locality, and following it that of the Sāḷuva rulers of Chandragiri as a part of Vijayanagar rule. We may therefore say generally that, with the foundation of Vijayanagar, the administrative organisation of the temple at Tirupati also took a new or rather renewed start, and continued throughout the period of the imperial history of Vijayanagar. We shall consider that in some detail as it is then that we get to its organisation at its best and what is really more, we have material available to gain a detailed idea of what it was like.

ORGANISATION BY RAMANUJA AND THE YADAVARAYAS. The organisation of worship, etc., in the temple at Tirupati ascribed to Rāmānuja was brought about in the reign of a Yādava ruler

of the locality whose name is not given to us in the records available, although the whole of that organisation is detailed in the work *Śrī Venkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla* already referred to. But we know this in regard to this Yādavarāya that he was a predecessor of the great Vīra Narasimha Yādavarāya, who played an important part in the history of this locality during the period of the later Chōḷas, Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III. Some of his successors figure in the records of the period along with the two Hoyśāla officers, to whom we have made reference so that we may say that the Yādava rulers of the locality took interest in the administration directly, and it is their mantle of administrative interest in the affairs of the temple which passed down to their successors the Sāḷuva rulers of Chandragiri-rājya almost in a continuous succession. We have described in sufficient detail already under what circumstances and how the Hoyśāla authority spread over this locality and how it continued during the reign of Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III. When the Hoyśāla monarch fell in battle at Trichinopoly against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura, the government of the region round Tirupati perhaps continued in the hands of the successors of the Yādavas, and remained in their hands till Kumāra Kampaṇa's invasion of the south. In the organisation of

this invasion all the resources of what was the Hoyśāla state before, had been brought into requisition, and as Kampaṇa's conquest of the south falls into two distinct stages, the overthrow of the rebel Śambuvarāyans of the Pālār valley, and then of the overthrow of the Sultans of Madura, the region round Tirupati under the feudatory Yādavarāyas probably passed under the Sāḷuvas for some reason which is not made quite clear to us. So when South India emerges from these invasions, Vijayanagar stands out as the visible embodiment of the organised Hindu resistence to the advance of the Muhammadans in the south, and in these early campaigns of Kampaṇa, we find the name of the Sāḷuva chief Guṇḍa mentioned as playing an important part. Of course, later literature bearing on the subject gives the Sāḷuvas possession of territory near Gulbarga, the centre of what had become the Bāhmani kingdom, and, if that should be true, they must have been chieftains dispossessed of their ancestral estates in the present day Nizam's Dominions marching farther south in search of adventure. It is possible they were rewarded for that valuable service rendered to the common cause by the estate round Chandragiri. Whatever it be, we find Sāḷuva Guṇḍa already associated with Chandragiri, and even making benefactions to the temple at Tirupati. But

what is really important to our purpose here is that the advent of this power in the locality brings about a distinct improvement in the relationship of the local rulers and the temple at Tirupati. The Yādava rulers already had shown an attachment to the temple which might be regarded as almost that of the family deity. This feeling of attachment and consequent devotion increased with the advent of the Sāḷuvas, so that the benefactions to the temple became not merely the benefactions of the rulers of the locality merely in their official capacity, but as benefactions from families of power and influence particularly devoted to the deity enshrined in Tirupati. So we find a special stimulus given, as it were, to the benefactions, public and private, by the rulers, their officials and even private individuals of the locality. The rulers of Vijayanagar, as such, do not figure prominently and directly in these benefactions, their association being more or less as that of the ruling power exercising authority over the region and no more, and even where an important service like the institution of the *Vēdapārāyaṇa* under the great Dēvarāya gets to be mentioned, it is as nothing more than perhaps what is due to the sovereign ruler of the locality. But when the imperial dynasty, the dynasty of Vijayanagar, comes to the end of its career, the Sāḷuva

chieftains stand out more prominently and, with their growing importance, the benefactions to the temple also come out into prominence. So throughout the periods following, even under the changing dynasties, this special attachment to the temple continued and the benefactions to the temple grew in proportion.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BENEFACTIONS: The pattern for benefaction to the temple had actually been set by certain arrangements that Rāmānuja made, such as the provision of festivals, the provision for services of food or other eatables, the presentation of jewels for decorating the deity, umbrellas and other appurtenances requisite for the temple, vessels for service and so on. In regard to these, the actual presentations were made then and there. But where provision had to be made for festivals, or food or other services, it is a question of recurring expenditure and could not be made then and there. The usual way of making provisions for such needs of the temple all over the country is to make gifts of pieces of land or other assignments of income, so that they may come in annually, and might be utilised for the particular purpose for which they were made. This we find of more or less frequent occurrence in South India. But in the region round Tirupati they

carried it out systematically and with certain peculiar features which are really noteworthy. Whole villages were granted sometimes, and assignments of revenue of particular localities as well, where royalty or very high placed officers were concerned. But the benefactions by these are comparatively a small number. The far larger number of the benefactions actually are from middle class people and even the poorer folk. It is there that the special feature shows itself remarkably. Whoever was the happy inventor of the arrangement, it had become more or less habitual to make grants of money actually paid into the temple treasury, but with specific directions as to how the money should be applied, not merely for the services, but for producing the wherewithal for the services. A certain sum of money was paid over to the temple treasury to be applied either to provide agricultural facilities of various kinds so as to bring as yet uncultivated lands into cultivation, and thus make them revenue yielding. In many cases, it was done by bringing uncultivated lands into cultivation. We find numbers of instances, in which it was not a question of bringing fresh lands into cultivation, but of effecting improvements to the irrigation and other resources of the locality, improvement of the tanks, clearing silt out of the channels, or the constructing of

fresh channels to reach high level localities and so on. We find therefore small sums as well as large sums deposited into the temple treasury to be applied for these improvements in temple villages, or on lands which could be made over to the temple, always specifying the particular locality, or the particular item of improvement to which these specific sums were to be applied, implying thereby that the temple organisation, whatever that was, had the means to apply the money and carry out the wishes of the various donors. As we progress in this period, it is not merely the Śrī Vaishṇavas as a whole, but certain Śrī Vaishṇavas coming into prominence, as playing the principal part in this organisation and management. In the days of Sāḷuva Narasimha and his immediate successors, one Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar and his successors figure as managers. Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar himself gained that position in succession to his *Guru*. Numbers of single men and *Sanyāsis* (ascetics) in charge of particular institutions of the temple also are mentioned in this connection. Notwithstanding all this, a scheme like this could have been carried out only with the co-operation of the civil authorities, and that co-operation seems to have been always readily available for the purpose. Numbers of villages get to be mentioned even before this period,

which were free gifts to the temple. Numbers of villages in the locality round about the temple, and even at distances outside the district dependant upon Chandragiri, were made over to the temple during the period by royalty as well as by the great governors and officials, although comparatively speaking they were small in number. But the number of villages which are mentioned as *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* villages, the revenues of which were paid to the temple, to which these new benefactions were applied for various items of improvement is far larger. A large number of irrigation tanks in the locality are mentioned as irrigating temple villages as also a pretty large number of channels. A number of these, both tanks and channels, were made by the investment of funds made over to the temple treasury by the devotees to the temple, and that must mean the lands thus brought into cultivation must have become the property of the temple, of course, as usual cultivated by the agriculturists of the locality, the temple exercising the right of the land owner to whom is due what is called the *mēlvāram* right, the right of the land-lord. The right of the temple to such lands had been defined specifically, and a distinction is drawn between the revenues derivable by a temple and the revenue derivable by a Brahman to whom a gift might be made, as distinct from the revenue incidence which went to,

government from South Indian villages generally. That understanding seems to have prevailed even here, and the temple lands, such as they were, which had been brought into cultivation by these improvements amounted to a comparatively large extent of the area commanded by the hill on which the shrine is. In fact if it were possible geographically to plot out the tanks and channels which find mention in the 1,000 or 1,500 inscriptions relating to the period, it would practically mean the far larger part of the land, if not all, extending from the foot of the cluster of the hills constituting Tirumalai, down to where the river Svarṇamukhi runs across the valley at the other end of it, much closer to another series of hills across the river. Going up the hill in the uncomfortable conveyance—a sort of an improvised palanquin where one has necessarily to be half abed—one could see the number of tanks and the innumerable channels in the summer season of the year either waterless or containing just the mere evidence of water. These should have been reservoirs of the fertilising waters carried by the innumerable channels for purposes of cultivation of lands belonging to the temple and producing an annual revenue for temple expenditure. Putting a question to the bearers as a matter of curiosity whether all these were not temple lands, the

answer came without hesitation "No". Discounting their knowledge very badly, I put the question to the Peishkar on the hill and got the much more emphatic "No", followed by the specific answer that God Venkaṭēśa does not own a square inch of land, and is dependent entirely upon the daily gifts of the pilgrims to the place, which averages about a thousand rupees a day, the account for the particular day when I was able to see the shrine, showing a little over Rs. 400, one of the lowest averages. It would certainly be an interesting enquiry of great historical interest as to how and when exactly this change in the state of things came about.

CHARITABLE AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS FALLEN OUT OF USE. Another question connected with this is the number of buildings, gardens, and estates of various kinds to which the God was taken on festival occasions, and particular services rendered, of which there are a pretty large number under reference, and the number of charity feeding houses, called *Rāmānujakūṭas*, both in Tirupati on the hill and the town below. Several of these so mentioned do not appear ordinarily to figure in connection with the festivals now-a-days, and, all round the hill town, one could see various of these small stone pavilions, in a comparatively neglected condition, but

even otherwise appropriated by the poor people for meeting their residential needs. Even what used to be the Vyāsarāya *Maṭh* which has historical associations of importance in the street actually occupied by the temple priests, and almost reserved for them, seems fast going into this condition unlike the other *Maṭhs.* Then there are a very large number of gardens which are mentioned with pavilions placed in the middle and referred to as being in charge of particular *Ēkāngis*, or agents of institutions like the *Maṭhs*, etc. One cannot be certain now whether they exist in their usual condition and are made use of for the purpose for which they were originally intended. Passing down to the actual services, such as food-service, set apart for various purposes, a very large number happen to be mentioned, and it is not likely that they are all listed and kept up in their integrity in each case. It is just likely that they all have been lumped up together and have become more or less indistinguishable from the general services in the temple. If this had happened, it might perhaps provide one reason why the land gifts, and other gifts connected with these services should have been forgotten, so far as the temple authorities go, to set up a claim when these got to be appropriated otherwise. It is doubtful whether all these feeding houses or *Rāmānujakūṭas*

as they were called, are in existence as such. As far as it is possible for a visitor to see, several of them must have gone out of existence, and it may be most of them out of use altogether. These are points that arise from the state of things with reference to the provisions made by Mysore, and from the one or two instances of superintendence maintained by Mysore in respect of their condition, etc., and latterly by the maintenance of an agency to look after these.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHARACTER AND ORGANISATION OF THE SHRINE.

THE ACTUAL CHARACTER OF THE SHRINE; SAIVA OR VAISHNAVA. A question of peculiar importance with respect to the history of the shrine of Tirupati is the actual character of the shrine. In the account that we have so far given, we have followed the evidence so far accessible to us, to let them tell their own tale without considering this particular question as one calling for any special treatment. The account so far given of the temple from the sources, which are indicated in the course of the narration, reveals the fact that the temple has uniformly been regarded as a Vaishṇava shrine during historical times as far as we know for the present. There is, however, a persistent popular belief that it was a Śaiva shrine transmuted into a Vaishṇava temple by Rāmānuja by a miraculous *leger-de-maine.* That matter has to be considered now that we have come to the close of the history of this shrine. The contention raised has assumed various forms in popular accounts, and amounts to no more than regarding the image in the shrine as that either of Subrahmaṇya or of Śiva

Himself. This position is taken on what may seem at first sight justifiable grounds. The holy tank in the place is called by several alternative names, of which two names are of importance to this question. It is generally known by the name *Svāmi Pushkaraṇi.* It is also called *Kumāra Pushkaraṇi* or *Tīrtha*, the two names Svāmi and Kumāra being now-a days more or less generally applied to Kumāra or Subrahmaṇya or Skanda generally. This seems to find support in the sources included in the *Nālāyira Prabhanda* of the early Āḻvārs where sometimes the image of the God in the temple is referred to by the name Kumāra, such as for instance in expressions like *Iḷaṁ Kumaran tan Viṇṇagar.* Behind it, of course, there is the general belief that hill tops are generally regarded as peculiarly places of residence of Subrahmaṇya in Tamil literature and popular belief, one of whose peculiar acts is embraced in the expression *Kuṇṛu-tōr-āḍal*, dancing or playing on every hill top, as if hill tops are peculiarly appropriate places for the sporting activities of young Subrahmaṇya. The alternative suggestion is, it is an image of Śiva that is actually standing in the shrine as these very early Āḻvārs describe the image with features and weapons, at least part of which are characteristic of Śiva, such as the matted locks, and the weapon called *Maḻu* which are characteristic

of Śiva. It is therefore generally taken that the image in the temple may well be Śiva or Subrahmaṇya, and the place therefore may be sacred to the one or to the other; it may even be for both, as if it is a Śaiva shrine, Subrahmaṇya has to figure among the attendant deities. This is the general position taken by people who hold that it was actually a Śaiva shrine converted by a miraculous feat by Rāmānuja into the Vaishṇava temple that it now is.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE ALVARS IS DISTINCTLY FOR THE VAISHNAVA CHARACTER. The first point to note in this contention is that Rāmānuja lived in the latter half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th century, and the miracle actually ascribed to him should have taken place probably in the 12th century—early in the 12th century. The contention that it is a Śaiva shrine would be sound if some authority previous to Rāmānuja could be found which describes the shrine as a Śaiva shrine. Of course, the authority of the early Āḻvārs is quoted as referred to above. What is wanted, however, is whether there is anything to confirm this interpretation of the statement of the Āḻvārs taken out of the context and explained in this wise, because the self-same Āḻvārs do ascribe to the divinity there the weapons characteristic of Vishṇu

as well. We have explained why it is that they do so, and pointed out that it is not these Āḻvārs alone, but even the *Mahābhārata* does describe the divinity in *Vishṇu Śiva* form. The contention therefore could be valid only if some other evidence could be brought in to confirm this presumption. We have marshalled the evidence for the period more or less completely, and a careful reader would have noticed that the sources of information which bear upon the question, do not support this contention in the least. Such references as we get in the Śangam Literature, especially the poems of Māmūlar speak of Tirupati famed for its festivals; but do not specify whether they were festivals to Vishṇu or Śiva. The poems of the early Āḻvārs taken as a whole have special reference to this shrine and describe them, without the slightest doubt, as a Vishṇu shrine; but describe the Vishṇu represented there as containing in Himself the other two divinities of the triad, Brahma and Śiva, and even the others, the lesser Gods if they may be so described in English, as forming part of His body. This notion springs from the general conception that all things existing constitute the body of God, God Himself being therein as their life and soul. This is explained clearly in the poems of Nammāḻvār and even more plainly by Tirumangai Āḻvār, so that as far as

the Āḷvārs are concerned, we are not left in any doubt that they took the image of God at Tirupati to be that of no other than Vishṇu.

EVIDENCE OF THE SILAPPADHIKARAM MORE DECISIVE. Have we other evidence than that of these Vaishṇava Āḷvārs ? We have. The *Śilappadhikāram** describes in unmistakably graphic terms the Vishṇu standing on the hill Vēngaḍam, and does not leave it in any doubt that it is Vishṇu pure and simple and none else. The passage is quoted both in translation and in original, to which reference may be made.

In another part of the work he mentions *Neḍiyōn Kuṅṟam* (the hill of the tall one) and *Toḍiyōḷ Pavvam* (the sea of the bangle-wearer) as boundaries of the Tamil land. This is Vēngaḍam and the sea at Cape Comorin spoken of as Vaḍa Vēngaḍam and Ten Kumari in the *Tolkāppiyam*, introduction by Panam-Pāranār. *Neḍiyōn* is a well-worn term for Vishṇu in Tamil and its use here seems almost to imply that Vēngaḍam as Vishnu's hill was a well-known fact. For this use of the term *Neḍiyōn* compare *Maṇimēkhalai* Canto XIX, ll. 51-55 where the term *Neḍiyōn* is used indubitably for Vishṇu in his Vāmana-Trivikramāvatāra. The author of this work is

*VIII, 1 and 2. cf. XI. and *Maṇimēkhalai*, XIX, 51–55.

neither a Vaishṇava nor a Śaiva, but was a Buddhist, possibly a Jain. That cuts at the root of the whole contention. The date of the *Śilappadhikāram* has been matter for some differences of opinion; but we do not know any opinion of the most extreme type dating the work after Rāmānuja. It would therefore be valid evidence for an age preceding the time of Rāmānuja. The actual passage of the *Śilappadhikāram* referred to above, and the terms in which the features of the God are described seem redolent of the general Vēdic idea that Vishṇu is the patron deity of hills. While, according to the notion of the Tamils, as authoritatively embodied in the *Tolkāppiyam*, Vishṇu is the patron of forests, while Subrahmaṇya is allotted the hills. There are passages in the Rig-Vēda, which would make Vishṇu the patron deity of hills. This is unmistakably set down in a passage of the Yajur Vēda, which lays itself out to set down localities and regions peculiarly associated with particular Gods.* The list given here is a pretty long list comprising all the Gods, while the passage in the *Tolkāppiyam* has reference to only the four divisions into which the land on the earth is usually divisible. This difference between the Vēdic notion and the notion of the Tamils may perhaps be explained as due to the actual Tamil character

*Kāṇḍa III, Praśna IV; *Tolkāppiyam, Ahattiṇai* Sūtra 5.

of the deity Skanda (Muruka in Tamil, *muruku* meaning youth), and need not be exactly identical with the Vēdic notion, although as usual this may indicate an effort at imperfect assimilation. Whatever that be, we see here in the *Śilappadhikāram* reference the idea that the hill at Tirupati is the hill of Vishṇu which seems conveyed to us in the one passage of *Tiruppugaḻ* to which we have made reference already. So the notion, even in the Tamil country, is not that the hill tops are the sporting ground of Subrahmaṇya exclusively.

ABSENCE OF REFERENCE IN THE TEVARAM: Along with these Āḻvārs flourished several of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs, some of them coming even from the locality round about Tirupati itself. But the really more important ones, such as Appar, had travelled all the way through this region of what constitutes the Chingleput District of modern times as far as Kāḷahasti, and had celebrated all the Śaiva shrines round the locality in their *Tēvāram* hymns. Neither he nor any other of the *Tēvāram* hymners do say anything of the shrine at Vēngaḍam which is decisive that the shrine was not a Śiva, or even a Śaiva shrine. The earliest inscription in the temple at Tirupati is that of a Pallava sovereign, Dantivarman, the son and successor of the great Nandivarman

Pallava-Malla. His period of reign covers the last decade of the 8th century, and the earlier decades of the 9th. That already refers to the shrine as a Vishṇu shrine. His inscriptions are found in the Triplicane Pārthasārathi temple thereby indicating that he was perhaps a Vaishṇava by persuasion as his father was. The earlier Chōḷa inscriptions are found in the locality round Tirupati, and benefactions were made of even an important character to the now much neglected shrine quite close to the Alaṛmēlmangai shrine at Tirucchānūr, called Parāśareśvaram *vulgo* Tiruppalādīśvaram. High placed Chōḷa officers have made large donations to this shrine, and would not have neglected an important shrine like that at Tirupati if that was a Śaiva shrine. As a Vishṇu shrine Tirupati has received donations from even some of the more prominent Chōḷa rulers, such as Rājarāja I, Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Chōḷa. But the great Chōḷas being personally Śaivas make but occasional grants to this distant shrine somewhat distant and out of their usual circuit of visits.

POSITIVE REFERENCE IN THE TIRUPPUKAL TO TIRUPATI AS VISHNU'S HILL: The decline of the Chōḷa power and the rise the local dynasties bring the shrine into prominence closely associated with the local Yādava dynasty of rulers. In the

Yādava records, the temple is spoken of as a Vishṇu shrine; but that is, after the intervention of Rāmānuja. Under Vijayanagar, it was undoubtedly regarded as a Vishṇu shrine and attained to its glory as a Vaishṇava shrine. But early in that period flourished the poet Saint Aruṇagiri whose *Tiruppukaḻ* is a long poem devoted to the celebration of Skanda or Subrahmaṇya or Kumāra. If there was any suspicion that the hill temple on Tirupati was sacred to Kumāra Subrahmaṇya, surely here was an author who was bound to mention an important shrine to the special deity of his affection. We have already pointed out that he does actually make eight references to the temple, and, in one of them, he declares positively that the hill was a hill sacred to Vishṇu, and of course Kumāra is there, as hill tops are places where he disported himself, at least he is supposed to have disported himself, in the opinion of his devotees. Thus there appears so far to be no evidence positive or negative that the shrine was at any time regarded as a shrine of Śiva or Subrahmaṇya, and all available evidence speaks of the temple only as a Vishṇu shrine.

EXAMINATION OF THE AUTHORITY FOR THE STORY: What then is the basis of the statement that Rāmānuja transformed the Śaiva into a Vaishṇava shrine ? The story, as given popularly, is that

there was a dispute between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, the Śaivas claiming the shrine as theirs and the Vaishṇavas setting up a counter claim. After much wrangling and dispute, and carrying the matter before the rulers of the locality, they came to an agreement between themselves that, as they were not able to settle the character of the deity satisfactorily by arguments between themselves, they would leave the matter to the deity itself. They were to make the weapons characteristic of Vishṇu and Śiva, place them within the sanctum after the late evening worship should be over, and the temple locked. Accordingly they locked the temple and sealed it and placed guards, so that nobody might enter. Rāmānuja is said to have assumed the form of a cobra, he himself being an *Avatār* of Śēsha, the great cobra constituting the bed of Vishṇu, entered the shrine overnight and set the characteristic weapons, the conch and the disc in the hands of the image, and thus cheated the public and won in the contest. Apart from the absurdity of the story, if Rāmānuja could assume the form of the cobra, and do all that, he could have persuaded the God himself into assuming the form of Vishṇu. The story finds no authority in any of the more reliable sources of information which we have been able to examine, and are

available as sources of information of any dependability.

A well-attested form of this story is what appears in the *Śrī Vēnkatāchala Itihāsamāla*, where it is stated that the temple was abandoned by those few Vaishṇava Brahmans who were conducting worship in the temple and maintaining themselves on the hill in the comparatively difficult position owing to the unhealthiness of the locality and the comparatively hard conditions of life otherwise. Some Śaivas took charge of the temple and were apparently conducting worship, etc. After some time it came to be a matter of dispute as to whether the temple legitimately belonged to the Vaishṇavas or Śaivas, perhaps because some of those Vaishṇavas who abandoned it had returned, or some others near about the locality came into Tirupati and set up a claim. The dispute gained in volume and force, and the local ruler's intervention was sought. This local ruler, one of the Yādavarājas, made the enquiry and wished to come to a settlement on well-informed authority and brought about an assembly of learned Śaivas and Vaishṇavas, and each one of the parties was to put forward and substantiate its particular claim to the possession of the temple. Rāmānuja got the better of the argument, at any

rate, to the extent of persuading the Yādavarāja that the shrine was a Vishṇu shrine. The Śaivas driven to desperation, as their cause was being lost, showed themselves ready to throw the blame on the ruler by charging him practically with partiality owing to the superior influence of Rāmānuja. The charge of partiality was matter that a ruler who has to exercise authority would find it difficult to put up with, and naturally he appealed to Rāmānuja whether something could not be done to convince those unreasonable people and give them satisfaction. Having done all he could to substantiate the case by the best authority that could be brought in support of his position, he said the only possibility would be to leave the decision to the God himself. As a satisfactory course of action to be taken he suggested that the two parties do make the weapons characteristic, each its own set, the Śaivas getting a set of weapons characteristic of Śiva and the Vaishṇavas that of Vishṇu. These were placed in front of the image and the sanctum was locked and sealed by the Yādavarāja himself directly. On the following morning, as the story has it, the God was found to have assumed the disc and the conch, the other weapons lying just where they were placed. Rāmānuja's part in bringing this about is said to have been nothing more than to have spent the night in

prayer that the God might decide in favour of truth and demonstrate to the world the actual fact of the image being a representation of Vishṇu. The story does not go any further to state the detail that he assumed the form of a cobra and perpetrated the atrocity of placing the weapons in the hands of the God. The historian is certainly not bound to accept a miracle as a fact of occurrence. The people believed in this possibility and accepted it. It is not the function of the historian either to call it into question, or otherwise adjust it to the requirements of his critical faculty. The really difficult point here for the historian to settle is this. Was the image designed as that of Vishṇu or of Śiva or Subrahmaṇya? The only authority bearing on the question are the *Purāṇas*, and the traditions of a Toṇḍamān Rāja having discovered a buried image and constructed a temple for it. On the authority of this story, it was a Vaishṇava God that was discovered and installed. The characteristic weapons of the conch and the disc were lent to this very Toṇḍamān Rāja when he was badly defeated, and fled from the field for protection and safety fighting against his own nephew. The story goes that his patron God lent him the weapons for his use to achieve victory which he is said to have done. But the weapons had not returned as usual; but

the God himself felt, he should remain without them for some time. Whatever that be, here is another miracle. The point of this story, however, is that in origin the image was intended to be that of Vishṇu perhaps without the characteristic weapons of the conch and disc.

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE EVIDENCE AND THE IMAGE AS IT IS. Leaving aside the miraculous, an examination of the image itself seems to reveal the fact that probably the image was made with the two hands detachable at the joint with the four arms, although it does not appear to be quite usual in stone images. While the disc and the conch would readily admit of this, the characteristic Śiva weapons or even that of Subrahmaṇya would not lend themselves to being of a character to admit of this. The characteristic weapons for Śiva should be Pāśupatha, a trident with a long rod, and a deer. The latter could be provided with a handle, but the former could not even perhaps in the form of *Maḻu*, an axe-like weapon. Subrahmaṇya's characteristic weapon is the long spear. It looks therefore unlikely that, having regard to the image as it is, it was at all intended to be other than that of Vishṇu. It is just possible that in a neglected condition these weapons got lost or broken, and the image remained at the moment when the

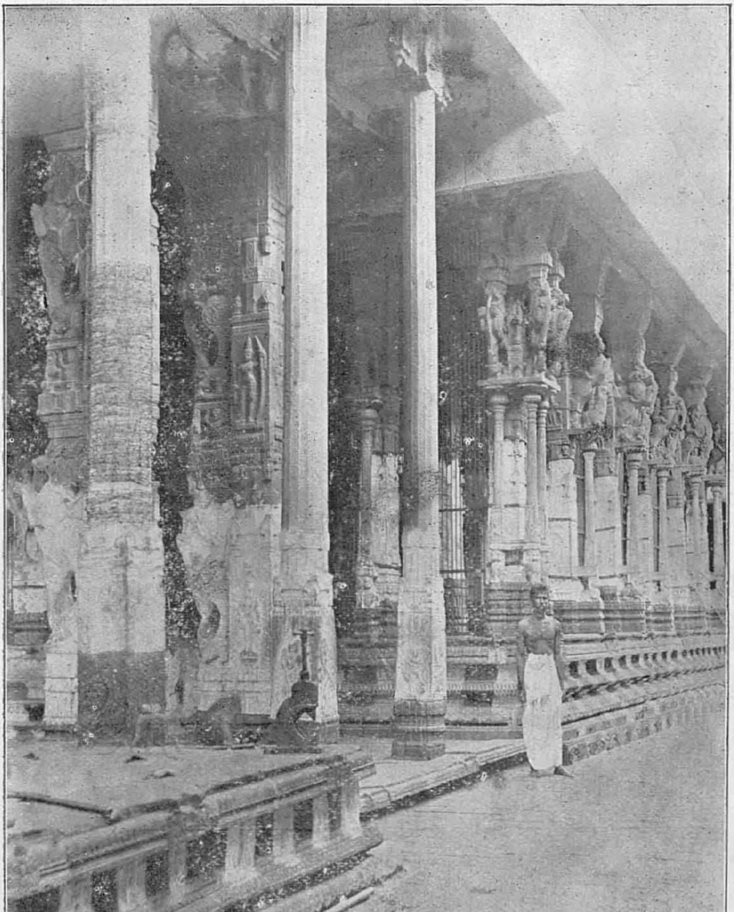
Śaivas came in charge of it without these two weapons, without charging them with having removed the weapons themselves. If they formed an integral part of the image, it would be difficult to believe that even a believing Śaiva, however fanatical he may have been, would have taken it upon himself to mutilate the image by breaking it. That possibility is ruled out. This is confirmed in a way satisfactorily by the image bearing on the chest the mark called *Śrīvatsa* with a representation of Śrī or Lakshmī in it. If we are to assume that it was originally a Śiva image, then we shall have to explain this as having been later on added to or made on the image by the Vaishṇavas, which again, seems very highly improbable as such handling would be considered profane by believing people, Śaiva or Vaishṇava. But the really dependable evidence as to the character of the image itself lies in the fact that over a series of years, and in various sources of information we have collected together from literature, inscriptions, etc., there is an unanimity of belief that the temple was one dedicated to Vishṇu, and the image therefore that of Vishṇu. None of the reliable *Guruparamparās* or the *Divyasūricharitam*, or the various well recognised *stavas* (lauds) on Rāmānuja, such as the *Yatirāja Saptati* of Vēdāntadēśika mention this kind of a transformation.

We are however informed that, perhaps a comparatively modern, laudatory piece, generally recited by the Vaishṇavas of the Tengalai persuasion, contains a statement to this effect. If that is true, the statement will have to be ascribed to the pious fanaticism of the composer rather than to its having any historical basis. One of the *stōtras* of a certain number of very important shrines by Śankarāchārya is said to contain a reference to Tirupati, and the God there represented by the image. *Dvādaśalingastōtram* refers to Śēshādrisṛnga certainly along with Śrīśailasṛnga ; but he clearly names the God Mallikārjuna*. This is undoubtedly a reference to the linga in Śrīsailam which formed part of the Sēshāchalam Hills, although Śrīsailam itself is used as the name of Tirupati in Vaishṇava parlance. We may therefore conclude that, notwithstanding the modern contention, the image was intended to be that of Vishṇu, but Vishṇu conceived as the supreme deity containing within Himself as such all the other deities, such as the lord of the creation, Brahma, of the God of destruction, Śiva, and even the great

* श्रीशैलश्रृङ्गे विविधप्रसङ्गे
शेषाद्रिश्रृङ्गे सदा वसन्तं ।
तं अर्जुनं मल्लिकपूर्वम् एनं
नमामि संसारसमुद्रसेतुं ॥

Śankarāchārya's *Dvādasalingastōtram*, Stanza 2.

ruler of the universe like Indra and so on. Such a conception would perhaps indicate an age when the dominent feeling was not sectarian superiority or excellence, but a period of compromise when sectarianism had to be kept under control because of other enemies to overcome. If, as is inferable, the temple had been founded and the image made at a time when those interested in devotion to a personal God (*Bhakti*), as the only saving form of religion, as against the somewhat nescient forms of Jainism and Buddhism, it is conceivable that the emphasis was laid on the common nature of divinity, either Vishṇu *Para-Vāsudēva* containing within Himself the trinity, or Śiva *Māhēśvara-Sādākhya*, the supreme form of Śiva, similarly containing the other divinities in himself. It is these that we find emphasised in the *Āgamāik* thought as coming down from the early Bhakti schools indicated by the Bhāgavatas of pre-Buddhistic times. The early Aḻvārs, the three of them who are generally accepted to be specially devoted to this shrine and the divinity installed therein peculiarly, lay emphasis on this aspect of the form of Vishṇu, as they refer to it clearly in a number of verses in the composition of each one of them. This is confirmed by similar expressions in regard to the character of the divinity here in the poems of *Tirumaḻiśai* Āḻvār, who



PAVILION OF EMPEROR TIRUMALARAYA (*To face page 424*)

followed them closely. This is again much more elaborately confirmed in the writings of Nammāḻvār and Tirumangai Āḻvār. So really the image there, which cannot by any test be regarded as a comparatively modern substitute—say an image of the 12th century or later—and seems to be very old, made of a particular piece of very hard stone which resists all influences capable of bringing about weathering or wearing. The tradition regarding the image itself has it that it was a particular piece of stone in a part of the hill which had been brought in for the making of this image, and the like of it has since not been discovered even when one was badly wanted for the Kalyāṇa Venkaṭēśvara image in Mangāpuram. So then we may take it that the image is a very old one enshrined in a small temple to begin with, which structure yet remains, though surrounded by others of a later construction and larger dimensions in series, proceeding from the original small shrine within the sanctum gradually on to the outermost structures added by even the modern Mahants. The *Tirumalarāya* pavilion seems the latest which forms an integral part of the temple ascribed to emperor Tirumala of Tālikōṭa fame.

THE CONCLUSION ON A REVIEW OF EVIDENCE. We then see that the shrine perhaps originated as a mere forest shrine, and had the good fortune

to come to the notice of a local ruler describable as a Toṇḍamān Rāja, one of the early petty Toṇḍamān chieftains with his headquarters at Nārāyaṇavaram, to whom somehow the image and the shrine alike appealed. He therefore built a small shrine and made the first arrangements for regular worship in it, and for a certain annual festival, the principal festival that is now celebrated in the month of September-October every year called the *Brahmōtsava*. It is this which gave rise to the peculiar attribute to Vēngaḍam, *celebrated for its festivals*, as in the poems of Māmūlar included in the Śangam classics. It had gone on more or less in this form under the protection of the local chieftains, receiving additions and improvements from time to time. It became a sufficiently sacred shrine early enough to be celebrated in the poems of the Āḻvārs, and attain to a holy standing similar to that of Śrīrangam and perhaps another old mountain shrine, Tirumāliruṁśōlai near Madura. The *Śilappadhikāram* speaking of a Vaishṇava pilgrim from distant Malabar devoted ordinarily to the worship of Vishṇu at Trivandrum, Anantapadmanābha at Anantaśayanam, breaks through the Ghats and comes into the wider land of pilgrimage bound to visit particularly the three shrines of Vishṇu, of Śrīrangam, Tirupati and Tirumāliruṁśōlai, much as the

later Vaishṇavas speak familiarly of Kōil (Śrīrangam), Tirumalai (Tirupati) and Perumāḷ Kōil (Conjivaram). This is the position the shrine maintains as, of the twelve Ālvārs, eleven have celebrated this shrine, the only exception being Toṇḍar Aḍippoḍi, who has perhaps not made a specific reference to this temple, or the particular form of the God represented by the image enshrined therein, while Śrīrangam is the only Vaishṇava shrine celebrated by all the twelve Āḻvārs. From thence onward almost from the last period of these Āḻvārs Tirupati finds mention almost continuously both in literature and in inscriptions. These inscriptions are usually records of donations of an important character made to the temple by various parties, royalty, officials and nobles of high position, and even ordinary folk. In respect of the last, while there must have been a very large number of small donations, the more important ones really do find record, and they are in number large enough, and, in point of value, rich enough to be recorded. Judged by these, we have inscriptions from generation to generation almost from the period of the early Chōḻas at the commencement of the 10th century onwards, the age of the Pallavas being not so well furnished with inscriptions of this kind. But even so, and as we have remarked, we have an inscription of the

Pallava Dantivarman in the last years of the 8th century or early in the next. There has since been a more or less continuous series of records of donations, etc., to the temple in inscriptions; these are comparatively few and rather occasional in the period of the early Chōḻas, Śaiva shrines in the locality figuring more prominently than the Vishṇu shrine at Tirupati. During the period of the later Chōḻas, when the minor dynasties of the locality, among them the Yādavarāyas prominently, come into importance and with the rise of this dynasty, we come upon a regular series of inscriptions of donations to the temple, which not merely record donations and give us an insight into what has been done to the temple by way of additions to the temple services, etc., but give a clear insight into the actual organisation which made itself responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the temple on a reasonable basis. In the course of these records we are able to discover, although there is no actual mention in terms, several items of organisation introduced, or said to have been introduced, by Rāmānuja; and a few references to persons, and perhaps even places, give unmistakable indication that the part ascribed to Rāmānuja is quite historical, that he was there, took pains to organise the scheme of worship, and put it upon an acknowledgedly satisfactory footing. He

further provided the temple with a management of a disinterested character, according to his own light, by the creation of a number of offices to be held by single men, ascetic or other, whose function was to look after various departments of the temple management. The actual references to these in the course of the period of the Yādavarāyas are a clear indication of Rāmānuja having played the part ascribed to him—an important part in the organisation of the temple management and administration. The dynasty of the Yādavarāyas took a direct interest being a local dynasty and did much for the temple, not merely to provide the wherewithal but see to it that the management worked satisfactorily.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEMPLE ORGANISATION AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL: With the advent of the Sāḷuvas as local rulers at Chandragiri, they come into more intimate touch with the administration of the temple and a special stimulus is given to the institution of new services, and of the making of benefactions and magnificent donations to the temple. It is in this period that we gain an idea of the definite policy more or less, of charitable people making donations to the temple in a form to provide the temple with resources of a permanent character yielding annual revenues. The small donations as well

as the bigger now take the form generally of deposits into the temple treasury which were to be applied for effecting improvements of the agricultural resources of the temple, such as they were, and providing for a regular annual income which, and which alone, was to be utilised for the various services instituted, big and small, the simple and the elaborate. It did not mean merely the ordinary organisation of the temple itself, and the small properties belonging to the temple round about and the temple treasury only. It actually created a managing body which had not merely to administer the temple and its immediate surroundings, but had to take over the management of landed properties with irrigation works and all, the maintenance of these in condition, and their administration in proper form. Such would have been duty not far different from that of a civil administration. Provision had to be made for all this, and the body of people, the Vaishṇavas of the locality with whom the management was, must have had an organisation perhaps similar to the organisation of the rural communities to manage these various responsibilities more satisfactorily. In these inscriptions as well as in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagar rulers that follow, we do come upon even specialised arrangements, such as the special charge of works, the public works, in the shape

of buildings etc., that had to be carried out for the temple; the treasury for instance, the jewels donated from time to time to the God; the looking after of the charity feeding houses, all these figure. As we come upon local organisation and public bodies in charge of the rural localities surrounding the temple such as for instance the village of Tirucchānūr which belonged to the Dēvastānam, we might well imagine the temple management having been similarly organised and on the same pattern. The whole body of inscriptions makes one point clear. That is the temple management and the local people, the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the locality, had the direct management entirely in their own hands, the government kept altogether away from the day to day management. At the same time, it was jealously watchful and came down with severity whenever mismanagement of any kind was brought to notice, as in the one drastic case of misfeasance and malversation put on record under Sāḷuva Narasimha. One of the functionaries engaged in worship, who was a number of families settled in Tirupati for the purpose, happened to steal away a valuable jewel apparently, and then the matter was brought to the notice of the government. An enquiry was ordered immediately, the culprit was punished in the most drastic fashion possible by the confiscation of

property, and perhaps even loss of life, and the deprivation of the privilege of conducting worship so far as the family of the culprit were concerned. Ultimately a posthumous scion of the family was restored to his rights one generation after. Their house properties even had been sequestrated. This gives the most clear indication that, while the control was exercised efficiently, there was no interference from the government in the day to day management of the affairs of the temple.

Notwithstanding the careful control exercised over the management of the temple affairs, and the efficient protection that the state offered to the temple and its property and other rights, acquired from time to time from the state as well as from other individuals, we have not come upon any record in the large number of inscriptions recently brought to notice, any reference to a claim upon the temple revenues made by the state. These may be incidences of revenue, as in the case of properties owned by individuals, or special rates, etc. In regard to lands made over to temples, there has been a well recognised rule of demand that the temple could make upon cultivators, the lands liable to that schedule of demand were classed as *Dēvadāya* lands, that is, lands made over to temples in property. The

tenants were there cultivating the land, and had to pay certain dues to the temple in lieu of what an ordinary tenant would have to pay to his land-lord and the state, unless the arrangement was that the land-lord paid the state dues. Anyway there were state dues on the land and there were dues to be paid to the land-lord, whatever be the actual manner of the collection. Similarly there was a special schedule of dues in respect of lands granted to Brahmans. These were called *Brahmadēya*. There was some minute difference in the schedule of demand between the two. But otherwise they were comparatively speaking similar. The whole schedule compared to that on lands ordinarily cultivated by the ryot under a land owner, or directly under government, was comparatively lighter. Certain rates and taxes these lands had not to pay like lands held directly of government or through a land-lord. All the lands made over to the temple at Tirupati therefore seem to have been treated as *Dēvadāya* lands liable only to the schedule of dues to the temple, but otherwise altogether free. As in the case of these two, both *Dēvadāya* and *Brahmadēya* lands, there was no demand from the state upon the recipients of these revenues. The temple of Tirupati therefore enjoyed the full privilege of protection by the state. As a temple it enjoyed simultaneously the privilege of freedom

from demands by way of taxes or revenue from the government. That state of things seems to have continued all through Hindu rule. It was not merely the lands and properties of the temple that were exempt; but we have come upon no kind of a demand made upon the temple altogether even in regard to the other incomes which the temple had. The other income of this temple in particular, as in fact of temples in general, were amounts of money paid for the privilege of offering worship, donations made either in cash or kind in fulfilment of vows made, and various other kinds of cash gifts apart from the institution of services of various kinds. These generally amount to a large sum in respect of this temple and make a very substantial addition to the revenue of the temple. In fact, that is, the sole resource of the temple now-a-days, and, notwithstanding the single source of revenue, the temple is regarded as a rich one. The annual collections amount to somewhere about four lacs of rupees. Whether the income was quite so large two centuries ago, or whether it was actually larger, we cannot perhaps be positive about. There is no reason, however, that it should have been less. It is possible that it was actually more; but the modern facilities of travelling might have considerably added to the income. Whatever it be, we would perhaps

be safe in concluding that the temple enjoyed about as much of a revenue then as it does now. What has however to be noted particularly is that, notwithstanding this comparatively large revenue which the temple was deriving, the state made no demands upon it, and the temple paid nothing to the state as a holy charitable institution coming under a special classification. The extinction of Hindu rule in the locality brought about a radical change. We shall deal with it in the next period of the history of the shrine when the temple passed actually under Muhammadan authority first, and ultimately under the British. We shall make a slight retrospect and deal with the matter as an incident of changed rule or administration.

CHAPTER XVII.

MUHAMMADAN PENETRATION INTO THE "CARNATIC".

GOLKONDA MAKES THE FIRST MOVE IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE FATAL BATTLE MISCALLED TALIKOTA. The region round Tirupati which came to be known generally as the Carnatic, somewhat loosely in the British records, or the Carnatic Payin Ghat, Carnatic below the Ghats, perhaps a little more precisely in the Muhammadan, refers to the districts comprising the parts of the empire of Vijayanagar on the eastern seaboard extending southwards to the extremity of the peninsula from the borders of the Nizam's Dominions. This is sometimes limited only to the northern part of it, extending from the Nizam's Frontier down to include the South Arcot District in it. We shall use the term in this narrow sense, as our concern is merely the districts round Tirupati which are essentially what constitute this part of the Carnatic. The empire of Vijayanagar stood on the northern frontier of South India on the Krishṇa-Tungabhadra line, opposing Muhammadan expansion into the farther south, as the Muhammadans had occupied the Dakhan and had constituted an independent kingdom known to history as the Bāhmani

kingdom almost simultaneously with Vijayanagar. The two stood face to face, the one looking for an opportunity to extend southwards, and the other watchful to prevent this being done. This opposition grew keener and keener till it reached a crisis in the years following the middle of the 16th century. Rāmarāya the powerful ruler of Vijayanagar gained in influence owing to the internecine jealousies and quarrels among the three southern states of the Bāhmani kingdom, which, in the last decades of the previous century, broke up into five kingdoms. There was constant rivalry between Bijapur the immediate neighbour of Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar next across. Gōlkoṇḍa which was also contiguous to the northern frontiers of Vijayanagar, further towards the east than Bijapur, played her own part on the one side or the other, and the divisions and jealousies between these gave Rāma a distinct advantage, so that about A.D. 1560 or a little later, the Muhammadan states began to feel jealous of his dominent position. Rāmarāya's activities ultimately brought about a union among these states, and, the decisive battle was fought at a place called Rākshasatangaḍi, in fact two villages whose names are combined in this, about 25 miles, one march on the southern side of the Krishṇa. This was called in older histories by the name Tālikōta

which was the camp of the Nizam Shah, 25 miles north of the Krishṇa from which he advanced to battle. After a severe battle in which the advantage seemed on the side of the Hindus, Rāmarāya fell by an accident of war into the hands of the enemies, and the battle immediately went against the Hindus. The Hindu army dispersed after the fall of their leader. The next younger brother Tirumala was able to retire to Vijayanagar in good order with a part of his army, and, finding it unsafe to remain there, removed all the movable wealth in the city and retired to Penugoṇḍa a fortress farther south. The Muhammadans marched slowly upon the capital, remained there for some time, as it is said six months, plundering and searching for hidden treasure, and retired, so far showing no tendency whatever to take advantage of the victory to march upon the Hindu kingdom and annex either the whole or any part of it to their own territories. This was in the year A.D. 1565, and by 1567 it seemed to an observer that the very capital city of Vijayanagar stood intact and the territory was still in the hands of the Hindus. It was the turn of Gōlkoṇḍa to make an essay first of all at expansion southwards, which Gōlkoṇḍa attempted in the years immediately following. By the time this happened, Tirumala had recovered sufficiently to go forward and oppose Gōlkoṇḍa effectively.

The advance of Gōlkoṇḍa into the territory of the Hindu empire and its repulse becomes more or less an important item of policy for Vijayanagar.

FURTHER GOLKONDA ATTEMPTS PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL AGAINST EMPEROR RANGA. Under Tirumala's successor, a more successful invasion was undertaken, and the Hindu territory as far south as Ahōbalam had been occupied by the Muhammadans who carried their depredations as far south as the new capital Penugoṇḍa itself. The Gōlkoṇḍa army was able to take Tirumala's son by name Śrīranga, ruling at the time, prisoner. The war ended however in the release of the Hindu monarch, but left at least a part of the conquered territory including the Vaishṇava holy place of Ahōbalam in the occupation of the Muhammadans of Gōlkoṇḍa. Śrīranga was persuaded to make another effort by the Vaishṇava pontiff of the Ahōbalam *Maṭh*, to recover at least Ahōbalam, and a minor chieftain of the locality, his own disciple undertook the responsibility of conducting the war to success if only he had the countenance of the emperor. This was the Maṭla chief whose territory took into it the districts round Ahōbalam extending southwards almost to the inner borders of Tirupati. The Muhammadan forces were beaten back, and

Ahōbalam was recovered. By this act the Maṭla chief became in a sense responsible for holding the territory in that region effectively against incursions, and assure protection to the Vishṇu shrines alike of Ahōbalam and Tirupati. After Ranga had passed away his younger brother Venkaṭapati succeeded in A.D. 1585, and did much to recover the empire of Vijayanagar to its previous state of prosperity.

THE DISSENSIONS IN THE EMPIRE FOLLOWING VENKATAPATI'S DEATH OPEN THE WAY TO GOLKONDA ADVANCE. Venkaṭapati happened to hold the viceroyalty of the south both under his father and elder brother, and made Chandragiri his capital as viceroy. By sheer force of habit perhaps that became his usual place of residence, although we know of occasions in which he was occupying Penugoṇḍa the capital, and was there on two occasions when he was forced to stand a siege by the Muhammadans in the course of his comparatively long reign. Being resident at Chandragiri for a long period be became in a way attached to Tirupati, and had shown marked personal devotion to the hill-shrine. Some of his charters say, in so many words, that they were signed, or approved, in the presence of God Venkaṭēśa on the hill. The districts round Tirupati therefore were intimately associated with the empire, and Chandragiri and

Tirupati itself, had come to be regarded as one of the capitals of the empire, if not strictly the capital. During the period of his rule, the effort made by Gōlkoṇḍa to extend its authority into this region was successfully checked and the territory continued to remain under the Hindu power effectively. Venkaṭa's death in 1614 proved a misfortune to the empire in more ways than one. He left no son to succeed him and nominated a nephew, the son of his elder brother Rāma, Viceroy of Śrīrangapatam. Rāma died earlier than Venkaṭa leaving two minor sons, whom Venkaṭa brought up at his own headquarters. He sent the elder of the two to take up his father's place of Viceroy at Śrīrangapatam, and the younger continued to remain with him, and seems to have been more or less designed for the succession and given even some training therefor, having been nominated *Chikkarāya*, which may be taken to mean the heir-apparent. One of Venkaṭa's queens, a daughter of the powerful Gobbūri chiefs related to the ruling family of Vijayanagar, brought up a child, it is ordinarily taken to be not her own, without Venkaṭa taking any steps to discourage her doing it, or putting matters right otherwise. This queen had brothers, the eldest amongst whom Jaggarāya by name, held an influential position under the emperor, and perhaps found the nephew not up to his liking as

successor on the throne. He found therefore his sister's son ready to hand for his ambitious purposes. While Ranga, the Chikkarāya succeeded, Jaggarāya tried to secure the countenance of the powerful nobles and officers about court and the viceroys away from court, and managed to confine the emperor with the whole of his family in the palace, more or less as prisoners, and carry on the administration himself. To make his position secure beyond doubt, he intrigued to get rid of the royal family by a massacre. His intention somehow got to be known at court, and a powerful chief whose estate lay continuous to that of Jagarāya, and not very far from the capital, took steps to baulk this by opposing his machinations. As a necessary precaution, he managed to get hold of one of the sons of the imprisoned emperor, a lad of about ten years, carried out of the prison house by a *dhoby*, bundled up in clothes he was carrying for the wash. The possession of this boy gave him what was necessary, a legitimate cause for setting up against Jaggarāya. This naturally led on to a war of succession which lasted two years ending ultimately in favour of this boy prince,Rāma by name. Yāchamanāyaka as protector found support in the viceroy of Tanjore to whom he carried the prince for safety, after suffering a defeat, and that brought about a civil war. This chieftain together

with a few other chiefs and the viceroy Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore alone supported the imperial cause; and all the other viceroys and the greater chiefs like Jaggarāya took the other side. This brought a fatal division in the empire which ultimately ended in the downfall of the empire itself. Through the good offices of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Yāchamanāyaka, Rāma was placed upon the throne as a result of the victorious battle fought at Toppūr near Trichinopoly in the year A.D. 1616, or the following year. In the actual circumstances of his accession, the rule of a young boy is likely to be beset with difficulties, and, during the fourteen or fifteen years of Rāma's rule, he had to struggle hard to maintain himself in his position and keep the territory intact. Jagga's paternal estates extended from the Nizam's Dominions, perhaps even taking in a small district within the Nizam's Dominions, and came down almost as far south as the frontier of the district round Tirupati itself. Yāchamanāyaka's territory lay next to it, and the rivalry between these two men and their parties had shown themselves throughout in constant wars, and the struggles for the territory round about Tirupati. Jagga was certainly dissatisfied with the succession of Rāma's father. Jagga fell in the battle; and it was a younger brother of his, by name Yatirāja, who held

possession of the family estate in succession to him. While Ranga's title was disputed, the accession of a son of that Ranga, and a minor boy at that, was not likely to give satisfaction to all. There seems to have been counter claimants as well who could put forward a nearer relationship, and thus urge a more legitimate claim to the throne. Ranga himself was a grandson of Tirumala. Tirumala's elder brother Rāma, whom Tirumala succeeded, had a number of grandsons among whom two, Pedda Venkaṭa and Chinna Venkaṭa, sons of a prince by name Ranga, perhaps were brought forward at the time, and had influential support. We find, after the first four or five years of struggle, the elder Venkaṭa and a son of the younger, by name Śrīranga, both were recognised as heirs to the throne at a time when Rāma was still too young to have had any children. Whether this was not done as a matter of policy, making a concession to the claims, perhaps superior claims, of these princes, remains open to doubt as Rāma was still young. However Rāma had to struggle hard almost up to the far end of his reign to keep the territories nearer the imperial headquarters from falling off, not to mention the Viceroyalties at greater distances. From the correspondence of the East India Company's servants on the Coast, we learn that it was about A.D. 1629 that Rāma was able

successfully to assert his authority over the territory nearer home. In the course of the next year or two, Rāma died and was succeeded by one of the two nominees, the elder, Venkaṭa, in or a little later than A.D. 1630.

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEAN COMPANIES ON THE EAST COAST: During this period covering the reigns of Venkaṭapati and his two successors, a number of European Companies had begun coming into India and making settlements in the territory with which we are directly concerned. The Portuguese were there already, and had a settlement at San Thome and at Negapatam, not to speak of other places elsewhere. Rival companies had started in Europe at the commencement of the new century as a result of political changes there, and among them, the English and the Dutch were perhaps the most active. The French were also beginning, and the Danes had effected a settlement about the end of this period in Tranquebar. The English Company had their first settlement in Surat, and in the course of their trade they established a factory in Masulipatam. Finding their position in Masulipatam not up to their liking on account of the difficulty of having to deal with the officials of the Gōlkoṇḍa Nawab, they moved southward to Pettapoly, and thence further south to a place called Armagaon

a litile to the north of Pulicat in the region with which we are concerned. Finding this also inconvenient for a variety of reasons, they moved further south into Pulicat accepting the hospitality of the Dutch, wherefrom they were looking out for a really more satisfactory place where they could ply their trade with advantage and with safety. The Dutch offered them accommodation of some sort, and the English moved there some time about A.D. 1626, almost the same year that the Danes secured a charter from Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore for Tranquebar. The Dutch had made a much earlier effort, and had secured the permission of the great Venkaṭapati to establish a factory in Pulicat and even fortified it to some extent, as the Portuguese were jealous of other European powers establishing factories in India and were giving them trouble whenever occasion offered. Pulicat happened to be in the *jāghīr* of one of Emperor Venkaṭa's queens, popularly known Bāyamma but more formally called Koṇḍamma of the Gobbūri family, sister of the powerful officer Jaggarāya, and his brother Yatirāja, whose name figures in the transactions of these European companies in the reign of Rāma. The permission was given in A.D. 1606, and in proper form in the following year, and a treaty was actually entered into in 1610, so that the Dutch were on quite a formal

footing, and could ply their trade with a very considerable amount of security. They were inclined to treat the English with hospitality as being the weakest company at the time. The local rulers often came into contact with these Companies, and it is because of these that we are enabled to draw information from the correspondence of these people, the English and the Dutch, in regard to the history of the times. From these we find that the reign of Rāma was troubled by the wars between his supporter, the Veḷugōti chief Yāchamanāyaka of Venkaṭagiri whose estate was not very far off on the one side, and Yatirāja, the successor-brother of the Gobbūri Jagga, who was practically the author of the war of succession and whose estate must have apparently extended over a considerable part of this region, if Pulicat could be within the *jāghīr* of his sister. These wars seem to have continued for a considerable length of time after the actual accession of Rāma, and perhaps were brought to a close by an understanding which was sealed by the marriage of Yatirāja's daughter to Rāma who already had a wife. As a consequence of this perhaps, it was reported by the Companies in the last years of Rāma's reign that he had mastered possession of a considerable portion of his empire. His death followed soon after and Prince Venkaṭa already nominated by Rāma, succeeded to the throne in

or about 1630. This was the year of the great famine in the Dakhan, one of the severest, and it seems to have extended to a considerable part of this territory also as several of these Company's letters give details of the prevalence of this famine and the selling away of a large number of children into slavery for a small quantity of grain. So the land must have been particularly unhappy.

DIVIDED INTERESTS IN VENKATAPATI'S REIGN. With the accession of Venkaṭa to power in succession to Rāma, things may be said to take a turn for the better, though the administration seems to have been somewhat divided in point of its policy by the division of interests between this Venkaṭa and his nephew Śrīranga, who was nominated along with him. In the conduct of administration, Venkaṭa had to take the assistance of some of his influential feudatories, and he seems to have chosen the chieftains of the Dāmarla family, whose estate lay round Kāḷahasti to assist him. They happened to be his own brothers-in-law, and this relationship gave them undue influence and made that administration unacceptable to the nephew Śrīranga who perhaps felt he had claims of his own almost as good as those of Venkaṭa himself. To make matters worse, the terrritory round the

headquarters had been in the hands of the minister brother-in-law, Dāmarla Venkaṭa who was governor of the large province of Wandiwash with a very large revenue. He was supported by a younger brother Ayya or Ayyappa, who held a junior office as governor or Tarafdar of Poonamallee under the elder brother. He managed the governorship for his brother, and released him completely to look after the administration of the empire. The nephew Śrīranga was allotted a governorship round Chandragiri and Tirupati which he made his headquarters. At the time of Venkaṭa's accession soon after 1630, this would have made no particular difference except that Śrīranga's government lay to the north, and Dāmarla Venkaṭa's to the south. But as things developed the relative importance also changed, and we shall come to that. Tirupati, which is much the same thing as saying Chandragiri, was the headquarters of Śrīranga and his government. He had charge of the northern frontier and the region round Pulicat, the territory extending southwards beyond it being included in the government of Wandiwash, and therefore in the charge of Dāmarla Venkaṭa, the minister. Venkaṭa's administration went on all right for the first few years till a new influence began to break in from the north. When Venkaṭa came

to the throne, important events were taking place in the Dakhan.

BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA SET FREE FOR AGGRESSION BY SHAH JAHAN'S TREATY OF 1636: At the commencement of the century when the great Venkatapati was still ruling, the Mughals advanced in the last years of Akbar's reign across the Vindhya-Narmada frontier and effected the conquest of the district now known as Khāndēsh, and perhaps a part of Berar next adjoining. Akbar constituted a governorship or viceroyalty of the south with Elichpūr, afterwards Burhanpūr, as capital. This new province gradually grew under Jehangir and Shah Jahan, and, in the course of its expansion, naturally came into hostile contact with the next neighbour the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar, one of the five kingdoms into which the Bahmani kingdam of the Dakhan broke up at the end of the 16th century. Prince Shah Jahan under his father, and Shah Jahan as emperor, exerted himself to make the southern viceroyalty of the Mughals an important part of the empire. By about 1635 the Nizam Shahi kingdom was practically put an end to with the assistance of the next neighbour Bijapur. Shah Jahan now thought that it was time that the war ceased and something like permanent peace introduced in this region, where there had been

wars for some time continuously. He came to an agreement therefore with respect to his ally of Bijapur who agreed to recognise allegiance to the empire and accept a subordinate position under the empire. Having regard to the fact that Bijapur assisted Shah Jahan in the course of these wars against Ahmadnagar, Shah Jahan was quite inclined to be gracious and he allowed Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa to remain practically independent though nominal feudatories of the empire. A treaty on these terms was ratified in 1636, and Shahji, the Mahratta, the father of Shivaji who had played a prominent part in the recent wars against Shah Jahan himself, in behalf of the Nizam Shahi kingdom, appearing on one occasion as even fighting for securing the Nizam Shahi throne to one of the heirs of the Nizam Shahis, was allowed to enter service under Bijapur. Thus Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa were set free as it were from their preoccupations of war against the Mughals, to turn their attention, if they were so minded, towards the south. The condition of the Vijayanagar empire under Pedda Venkaṭa was such as to offer a temptation to these two Muhammadan powers to attack the empire and take as much as they could of its territory in the neighbourhood of both of these Muhammadan states. We shall now consider the position of this southern empire at the time and

how it invited the steady aggression of these northern powers.

VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE UNDER PEDDA VENKATA: The Vijayanagar empire about A. D. 1630 and the years following, that is, the early years of rule of Pedda Venkaṭa, as he was called, cannot well be regarded as the united empire that it was in the reign of the great Venkaṭapatirāya. The separation of the Viceroyalty of Śrīrangapatam and the setting up of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Oḍayār constituted the first stone pulled out of the great structure to its ultimate detriment, although it was done at the time with all the care and caution that statesmanship suggested. If we could speak of it as a viceroyalty yet, it was more or less a semi-independent kingdom, which retained the forms of subordination to the extent called for for the nominal preservation of the unity of the empire. This state of Mysore, which was, comparatively speaking, small even in comparison to the present-day state of Mysore, under its legitimate representative to-day, comprised in it only the districts of Mysore, one half of Hassan, less than half of Tumkur, and a considerable part of Western Bangalore. Immediately to the north of it in the hilly parts lay what was the petty chieftainship of Ikkēri or Keḷadi, as it is called, directly subordinate to the empire and

holding the districts extending from the Western Ghats eastward to almost as far as the high road from Harihar south. The districts to the east of it were included within the province commanded by Penugoṇḍa which, as the titular headquarters of the empire, exercised authority over this part. Ikkēri and this Penugoṇḍa region were set over against the frontiers of Bijapur. To the east of it extending from Adoni down to the coast were the districts which were under other chieftains; but all of them acknowledged allegiance to the empire more or less, according to the actual vicissitudes of the changing politics of the time. But notwithstanding all the changes the whole region, extending from the frontiers of Gōlkoṇḍa roughly corresponding to the present-day Nizam's Dominions, and extending south to as far as Wandiwash through the region directly under the empire was perhaps nominally included in the province of Chandragiri. These petty states and the area covered by them constituted the territory directly under the emperor and his authority. To the southward of it lay the viceroyalty of Gingee extending northwards from the Kāvēri basin up to Wandiwash certainly, but taking in sometimes much more of the Chingleput District. Then came in the viceroyalty of Tanjore in the Kāvēri delta; then the large viceroyalty of Madura with Trichinopoly as a frontier fortress,

and taking in the whole region of the Madura District, a pretty large part of the Kongu country to the north, with a varying frontier sometimes reaching up to the foot of the hills skirting the plateau of Mysore. Therefore for the purpose of our discussion at present, Mysore, Madura, Tanjore and Gingee would constitute viceroyalties, and the rest of it may be regarded as territory under the empire, being divided under chieftains owing allegiance to the emperor directly. That was the position of the Vijayanagar empire when the treaty of Shah Jahan of A.D. 1636 was ratified, and Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa set free from their embroilments in the north to turn their attention towards the south, and take whatever they could of the imperial territory of Vijayanagar. This was well in the middle of the reign of Pedda Venkaṭa, whose administration from the very beginning seems to have showed itself to be comparatively weak and divided.

THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE EMPEROR AND SRIRANGA. We have mentioned already that Venkaṭa managed to carry on the administration with the assistance of the chieftains of the Dāmarla family of Kāḷahasti of whom two brothers played very important parts, Dāmarla Venkaṭa, almost the Chancellor of the empire, or

as the Company's correspondence calls it "Lord General of the Carnatic" with a government at Wandiwash, one of the biggest governments with almost the largest revenue next below the vice-royalties. His younger brother by name Ayya, or as he is sometimes called Ayyappa, whose government was a small one, and subordinate to that of his elder brother, ruled with Poonamallee for his headquarters, Poonamallee being thirteen miles north-west of Madras. These brothers dominated the administration, and this dominence was the principal cause of its unpopularity. Venkaṭa's headquarters seem to have been at Nārāyaṇa-varam, one of the old headquarters of the kingdom, hardly thirty miles from Chandragiri, but distinctly to the south of the region. The region dominated by Chandragiri fell to the share of his nephew, Śrīranga, who carried on the government from there and who regarded a war against Gōlkoṇḍa as his special charge, as his territory lay across the whole way of the southward advance of Gōlkoṇḍa. He thus had an important charge, and was responsible for the formulation of a policy to keep the aggressor out. Perhaps the governors of the territory immediately to the south, that is, the Dāmarla brothers, did not quite see eye to eye with Śrīranga, and hence a coolness sprang between them ripening into a positive misunderstanding and even political

opposition as time advanced. Bijapur set forward in its southern expansion towards the district of Śīra in the north-eastern part of Mysore opening out from thence into the plains of the Carnatic leading towards Gingee. Gōlkoṇḍa had perforce to extend its territory towards the south in the region between Adoni and the coast. Here they were met by Śrīranga's forces who were determined to keep them out, and we hear, in the Company's correspondence from Pulicat, that at one time the Gōlkoṇḍa armies had advanced as far south as Venkaṭagiri and Armagaon from both of which Śrīranga managed to keep them out, and thus effectively prevented their further movement towards the south. The dominating feature of the policy therefore of the latter half of the reign of Venkaṭa was, or at least ought to have been, how best to keep the enemy out of the imperial territory. Śrīranga had a definite and clear cut policy in regard to this, and did his best to keep the enemies out. He probably did not have the full sympathy and hearty co-operation that he would naturally have expected from the principal officers of the empire, particularly the Dāmarla brothers. We see a record of the reign of Śrīranga, coming from Tirupati of 1638, in which he is given already the full imperial titles, as if he was the ruling emperor, and ignoring altogether as it seems the position of a

senior Pedda Venkaṭa. That exhibits already a division of interests in the ruling family itself.

In such a state of affairs, it would be hardly possible to expect loyal support to any imperial policy from the greater viceroys of the empire placed at great distances from the vulnerable northern frontier. Mysore being about the nearest to this dangerous frontier adopted a policy of opposition to the advance of Bijapur in her own interests thereby incidentally supporting the imperial policy. Bijapur therefore had to struggle hard and had much fighting to do, to make good her possession of Śīra and advance further southwards into what is now the territory of Mysore not without success. It happened that the territory involved in this aggression of Bijapur belonged to the viceroyalty of the Jagadēvarāyals of Channapaṭna, whose charge lay to the east of Mysore, and between the territory of Mysore and the plains below. Gingee, Tanjore and Madura were much farther away, and were harldly concerned in this struggle to begin with. They pursued their own policy irrespective of the empire. They had quarrels among themselves, and sometimes they fought each other for asserting each its own rights. But otherwise they went their way without much molestation from the empire, or showing much regard for its interests.

EUROPEAN COMPANIES AND THE FOUNDATION OF MADRAS. It was during this period that the empire had to deal with a number of foreign trading companies in the land, of which the Portuguese at San Thome, the Dutch at Pulicat, the English at Armagaon were in direct contact with the imperial territory. The Danes were farther south in the territory of Tanjore, and these European Companies had also their factories in Masulipatam in the territory of Gōlkoṇḍa. Śrīranga had stationed himself at Chandragiri and Tirupati, and had been laying himself out to pursue his policy in spite of the empire, and to carry on the patriotic fight against Gōlkoṇḍa to the best of his ability and keep the enemy out successfully from the imperial territory. The English found their position at Armagaon unsatisfactory from many points of view. The port was not convenient for ships to come close to the shore, and the locality did not offer the kind of goods which they most wanted and at an easy price for commerce, and they were looking out for a better place to serve their purpose more efficiently. They managed to gain the goodwill and hospitality of the Dutch, who provided them with accommodation in Pulicat wherefrom they were carrying on a certain amount of trade, the least powerful, and therefore the most tolerated, of the European Companies as compared with

the Dutch and the Portuguese. There were enterprising factors at Masulipatam who were able to look a little farther afield. Various places offered themselves, ports in the Tanjore District, in the viceroyalty of Gingee, San Thome itself, a port like Covelong in the Chingleput District. But none of these recommended themselves sufficiently till at last they accepted the invitation of Dāmarla Venkaṭa, the minister in whose territory he offered to provide the accommodation sought. The site chosen was a piece of neglected land between two rivers and close to the sea southward of the little town of Madraspatam, which itself was situated a little to the south of the recently founded town of Channapaṭṭinam. This town was founded by Dāmarla Ayyappa in honour of their father Channappa, appointed viceroy of the region round Vellore, under the great Venkaṭapati soon after he had put down the rebellion of Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore, and took over the province from him. He was a chieftain of the first importance under Venkaṭapati, and his sons enjoyed the prestige of the father's position as well. They seem to have been natives of what is now the village of Dāmal, a little to the north of Conjivaram, but they acquired the *jāghīr* or fief of Kāḷahasti, and became associated with Kāḷahasti afterwards. Finding that the Dutch and the Portuguese were

constantly fighting not only on the sea, but even on the land, these governors of the locality found it necessary to lay out a town and interpose it between these two, so that the imperial power may exercise its authority effectively as against these. That was the Channapatam or Channapaṭṭinam, to the south of which was the small village of Madras or Madraspatam. To the south of this was the bit of land which in contempt the natives called jackal mound (Tam. *narimēḍu*), and which they agreed to make over to the English East India Company with permission to fortify the place from which they could carry on their trade without molestation, and even with the countenance of the local governors and the empire. On Dāmarla Venkaṭa's advice, emperor Venkaṭa issued a *cowle* granted to them on a gilt plate. Francis Day with the countenance of his chief at Masulipatam, Cogan, took it upon himself to lay the foundations of the fortress, and carried it some way, so that they could go into occupation about March 1640. That was the foundation of Madras as a result of the grant of A.D. 1639.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SRIRANGA, EMPEROR OF VIJAYANAGAR.

THE FIRST YEARS OF SRIRANGA: During the first five years of its existence, the vicisssitudes of fortune of the new foundation depended upon the rapidly changing political condition of the locality round about Tirupati. We have mentioned already that while Venkaṭa was still ruling as emperor, Śrīranga was given a government with headquarters at Chandragiri and Tirupati, and the Gōlkoṇḍa frontier was therefore regarded as almost his special charge. The emperor himself was living at Nārāyaṇavaram, within easy distance of Kāḷahasti to which belonged his Dāmarla ministers, Chandragiri being a little farther away comparatively speaking. The beginning of activities on the Gōlkoṇḍa frontier on this side coincided more or less in point of time with the visible signs of estrangement between the emperor and his nephew in charge of this frontier. Perhaps there was a certain amount of incompatability in the views between the two parties in regard to the policy that had to be pursued, and that perhaps aggravated the difference into one of active hostility of interests and of even political outlook. Each was apparently pursuing his own course of action without coming into actual

conflict till Venkaṭa died in October A. D. 1642, and Śrīranga was raised to the imperial throne in spite of the opposition of a considerable number of chiefs among whom the Dāmarla brothers naturally played the leading part. Almost the first thing that we hear after this change of rule, from the Company's correspondence, is that Śrīranga did not find Dāmarla Venkaṭa loyal to him, and had reason to be quite dissatisfied with the attitude of the minister. A little later, the latter was discovered intriguing with the Gōlkoṇḍa officers. This could only mean a reversal of Śrīranga's policy and would amount to a betrayal of the interests of the empire. Naturally therefore Śrīranga dismissed him from the offices and honours held by Dāmarla Venkaṭa. These very records speak at the time of the Dāmarla brothers bringing together all the hostile elements with a view to putting pressure upon Śrīranga to restore Dāmarla Venkaṭa to his position. Śrīranga was thus driven to take a more vigorous line of action. He therefore dismissed Venkaṭa from office definitely, and appointed in his stead another influential person, a merchant who was sufficiently influential in the country to have gained the goodwill of the Dutch, occupying a position of importance in the commercial community, and having influence with even foreign companies other than the

Dutch at Pulicat. Mallayya, as he is called in the Company's correspondence, whose real name however was a Chinnaṇṇa Chetty, was appointed minister, chiefly with a view to securing the goodwill and assistance of the Dutch, as against the advance of the Gōlkoṇḍa forces now under the foreign merchant known to history under the title Mirjumla. Mirjumla certainly set, as we shall see, high value upon the Dutch alliance, and if Śrīranga tried to anticipate him, it is certainly a stroke of wise policy. A commercial man in a position of political influence is likely to be swayed by commercial interests more than by the general interests of the state, and so it proved in the case of Mallayya. Finding his own feudatories turbulent, and Gōlkoṇda making successful advance, Śrīranga opened negotiations with Bijapur, and besought the assistance of the forces of Bijapur to help him against Gōlkoṇḍa and the rebel feudatories. He succeeded in the effort and brought the rebels under control, defeated the Gōlkoṇḍa forces, and, for the time, was master of the situation. Śrīranga still found the Gōlkoṇḍa forces holding out in the fortress of Udayagiri, one of the vital defence centres of the empire of Vijayanagar. He sent Mallayya in great force to dislodge them from there. Mallayya betrayed his master and played into the hands of Mirjumla. This undependability

of the ministers and officers entrusted with power, proved one of the evil influences that ultimately brought about the downfall of the empire under unfortunate Śrīranga. For the moment, however, Śrīranga was successful and his vigorous efforts against Gōlkoṇḍa drove them to seek assistance of Bijapur, and Bijapur now was quite inclined to assist Mirjumla as against Śrīranga, and bring about a joint invasion of the imperial capital of the time, Vellore. The military activity of the forces showed itself effectively round Vellore, and Śrīranga was very hard put to it to maintain himself in his position.

THE STATES BORDERING ON BIJAPUR. The first move of Bijapur in her southward expansion brought her into collision with the chief of Ikkēri or Keḷadi, who was still among the minor chiefs of the empire. Next to it in a parallel line were other minor chiefs, the cheifs of Basavapaṭna and Chitaldrug, and between them they managed to hold the frontier for a while. Bijapur had inevitably to beat these into submission, and advanced further forward, and the province of the empire next to be attacked happened to be the province of Śīra, which was a division probaby included in the government of Penugoṇḍa, and therefore was liable to be attacked as belonging to the empire. The rulers

of Mysore for the time felt safe because of the position of these minor chieftains, and the deflection of the course of march of the Bijapur advance that it actually meant. Further south of this lay the viceroyalty of Channapaṭna between the territory of Mysore and the line of march of Bijapur. Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Oḍayār, who was the ruler of Mysore at the time extended his territory by almost annexing the viceroyalty of Channapaṭna, carrying his arms successfully into the Bangalore district as far as Hoskote. Thus having come into collision with Bijapur, Mysore had to fight against Bijapur in her own interests and render at least indirect assistance to the empire. There is no specific mention in our authorities however for us categorically to say that Mysore did not co-operate with Śrīranga, nor that there was actually any understanding between them.

SRIRANGA SUCCUMBS TO THE COMBINED OPERATION OF GOLKONDA AND BIJAPUR; GINJEE FALLS TO BIJAPUR: In the actual circumstances of the empire, with the headquarters fixed at Vellore as a more convenient centre to oppose the advance of Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa forces, Bijapur advanced into the province of Śīra and from there stretched out towards Ginjee, as a more or less fixed item of their policy. The path of

Bijapur would lay aside of Vellore through Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. They might also take an eastern road, in which case they would have to pass through Vellore and attack the imperial headquarters as a matter of necessity. Śrīranga therefore had to divide his forces and make both Vellore and Chandragiri of equal importance for his purpose, sending out forces against Gōlkoṇḍa from Chandragiri and keeping watch over Bijapur from Vellore. We often hear of Śrīranga in Tirupati in this connection, and, early in his reign, there is a record which states that he received Mallayya, carrying presents from the Dutch at Pulicat, at Tirupati, and Śrīranga was favourably impressed with Mallayya. It was some time after this that he was entrusted with the wars against Gōlkoṇḍa, particularly the relieving of the siege of Udayagari in the Nellore District. When Mallayya proved false and surrendered Udayagiri, Śrīranga had to make the best of a bad bargain and obtain the co-operation of Bijapur as against Gōlkoṇḍa and his own rebel feudatories. He succeeded largely in that enterprise and was able to beat back both, and bring his own feudatories and the viceroys to a better frame of mind, and thus re-establish his position as emperor. Then came in the Bijapur invasion sent out by Bulol Khan, who stayed behind in Śīra on account of illness, and

Śrīranga succeeded in defeating the enemy at the Guḍiyāttam Pass, the Bijapur forces being under the command of Shahji, the Muhammadan officer actually in charge of the forces having been absent and Bulol Khan himself being away. But the defeated forces succeeded in getting through the Salem District and coming round the other passes, debouched into the plains of Vellore by the Pass of Chengam. There was a simultaneous Gōlkoṇḍa invasion, and Śrīranga got the worst of it. He had to remain content with the territory round Tirupati and Chandragiri, and had even to give up Vellore. This calamity to the empire seems to have softened the hearts of his own viceroys who showed a ready inclination to support him and promised better behaviour for the future. Śrīranga spent some time with the southern viceroys, dodging the enemy by remaining in the forest tracts between Tanjore and Gingee, and ultimately accepted the hospitality of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, and remained in Mysore for the time. The fall of Vellore was the signal for Bijapur, and the great Vijayanagar viceroy, Tirumal Nāyak who played the part of evil genius for the empire invited Bijapur against the viceroy of Gingee. Gōlkoṇḍa took advantage of the opportunity and marched simultaneously upon Gingee. The object of Tirumal Nāyak was to use the assistance of Bijapur to

take possession of Gingee. In front of the walls of Gingee, the Muhammadan forces fraternised. Bijapur abandoned the cause of Tirumal Nāyak. Gōlkoṇḍa obtained the co-operation of Bijapur on condition that Gingee would be handed over to them after its fall. It made viceroy Tirumal Nāyak somewhat wiser and cost him a severe struggle which proved quite unequal to dislodging the Bijapur forces from Gingee ultimately. Gingee ultimately fell into the hands of Bijapur and its conquest was made by the Bijapur army under a Muhammadan general Maula, with Shahji as usual second in command. The fall of Gingee marks a definite stage in the decline of fortune of the empire. Then began the serious effort of the viceroys to co-operate with the emperor and in the next two years, the emperor regained a great deal of lost ground for the second time in his history.

A RECORD OF 1647 SHOWS SRIRANGA AS RULER OF THE REGION NORTH OF TIRUPATI: We have already stated that Śrīranga had successfully beaten back both Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa separately in the years A. D. 1645–46. These successes enabled him apparently perhaps to gain back much of the territory that he had lost, as we find rather an unusual record of the state of affairs in an inscription which comes from a

small temple in Nandiyāla in duplicate. This record declares openly and formally that Śrīrangarāya was the ruler over the empire; that, in his reign, the people agreed to raise a certain amount of money by levying contributions among themselves and a number of allied communities scattered over the district for the purpose of providing a *Dāsari Saruvayya* with the wherewithal to build a festival car and present it to the God at Tirupati. The document mentions at the same time that this important service was for the spiritual benefit of *Kānkāna Sāhebulavāru* meaning thereby the Hon'ble Khan-i-Khanan Saheb. The Khan-i-Khanan, as we well know, is the title of the commander-in-chief, and, perhaps at this time, ordinarily applied to the principal general of the Muhammadan forces of Bijapur. But this region is actually much beyond the limits of Bijapur and directly in the sphere of Gōlkoṇḍa, where the most prominent figure at the time was as yet Mirjumla. Whatever the actual significance of this document in regard to other matters, it is a private document popularly acknowledging the sovereignty of Śrīranga in that region. Similarly after the fall of Gingee, the viceroys of the south agreed to co-operate with him, at least ceased from operating against him, so that with the countenance and assistance of Mysore even, and his other friend, the chief

of Ikkēri, he was able to gain a considerable amount of lost ground.

CLASH OF INTERESTS BETWEEN BIJAPUR AND GOLKONDA: The fall of Gingee, and its appropriation by Bijapur stimulated the ambition of Bijapur to make further efforts to appropriate the more substantial portion of the empire of Vijayanagar. The westward way towards Gingee would have taken Bijapur along the borders of Mysore, and Mysore under Kanṭhīrava Narasa showed a great deal of enterprise, Kanṭhīrava even intervening in the south against the viceroy, Tirumal Nāyak of Madura, operating against him in the region round Trichinopoly comparatively early in his reign. Between the attacks of Gōlkoṇḍa and of Bijapur, the territory of Vijayanagar was hemmed in as it were, and, with the discontent of the viceroys, Śrīranga was very hard put to it to defend it. The taking over of Gingee by Bijapur was not looked upon with indifference by Mirjumla, and naturally causes of dissatisfaction grew between the *quandom* allies. Bijapur therefore took the line of attacking one of the main citadels of the Vijayanagar empire, Penugoṇḍa, and, after having mastered possession of it, wanted permission to proceed towards Gingee through Gōlkoṇḍa territory. Mirjumla demurred as it might prove to be drawing Bijapur into his own domain. A war

broke out between Bijapur and Mirjumla, and Mirjumla had the worst of it and had to enter into a treaty agreeing to pay a very large indemnity to Bijapur. This was a bad blow to the prestige of Mirjumla, and perhaps exhibited even the hollowness of the alliance between Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa even as against Vijayanagar.

SRIRANGA TAKES ADVANTAGE OF MIRJUMLA'S DEFECTION TO THE MUGHALS: About this time a certain coolness had sprung between Abdulla Quṭub Shah and his all-powerful minister Mirjumla. Aurangzeb was already there in the Dakhan as his father's viceroy operating against the Mahrattas who were hanging round Bijapur. He wanted to make capital out of the distracted condition of the Hindu empire, and made his own recommendations to his father to let these southern Muhammadan powers more openly to appropriate the territories of this empire, imposing a very big price upon them for the privilege merely to replenish the coffers of the Mughal empire. Mirjumla was found already intriguing with both Bijapur and Aurangzeb in the following year. Śrīranga tried to take advantage of this and extend his authority. He was so far successful that we find him again in the region of Tirupati, and exercising authority over the regions further north. He was benefited by Mirjumla's defection

to the extent of having the countenance of Abdulla Quṭub Shah for his operations against the recent conquests of Mirjumla, and when Mirjumla felt driven ultimately to go over to Aurangzeb openly, the Quṭub Shah's countenance grew into encouragement for Śrīranga. Then Shah Jahan declared all the conquest of Mirjumla in the Carnatic as his own personal conquests to be held directly under the Mughal empire, and thus released Mirjumla from any allegiance to the Quṭub Shah; Śrīranga was perfectly free to take advantage of the opportunity without fear of offending his near neighbour, the Quṭub Shah. Śrīranga took full advantage of this opportunity to regain a considerable part of his territory.

SRIRANGA AGAIN SUFFERS BY THE TREACHERY OF HIS OWN OFFICERS. It was now that we find Śrīranga at Tirupati much encouraged by Mirjumla's departure from the scene of his late activities, and his being taken away ultimately to a much greater distance. It was perhaps in these circumstances when Aurangzeb was trying might and main to make as much money as he could for himself for eventualities that perhaps Śrīranga wrote, or was induced to write, to Aurangzeb himself a letter of appeal to Shah Jahan begging his good offices and assistance to

regain his patrimony, as against his own discontented viceroys within, and enemies subordinate to the Mughal empire without, in the course of which he even went the length of offering to turn Muslim if the emperor should make that a condition of his support. The application apparently was to gain the goodwill of the empire by enrolling Vijayanagar as a state subordinate to the empire like Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa. Being thus released from the perpetual preoccupation of a war against his two northern Mussalman neighbours, he perhaps thought he could manage his affairs better and get his own subordinates under his authority. But the letter was written at a time when matters were moving fast towards the war of succession in the Mughal empire, and perhaps did not even reach the emperor. It therefore proved abortive. Śrīranga took advantage of the changes and rehabilitated his fortunes to a very great extent with the alliance and the countenance of the Quṭub Shah, before the latter had time to formulate a policy of his own and think of appointing a successor to Mirjumla in this region. Soon after Mirjumla had been sent away to Delhi and subsequently Shah Jahan fell ill; all the forces of the revolution were set in motion. Quṭub Shah gradually reasserted his authority in what were the conquests of Mirjumla, and Śrīranga probably was pushed

back from his advanced position. We see a Hindu general, Tuppākki Krishṇappa, Mirjumla's general in this region, with whom the Vijayanagar general made common cause and betrayed his master. This general Kōnēri Cheṭṭi going over to Mirjumla's side was a serious blow to the prospect of Śrīranga recovering his empire, and this was further damaged by a successful ambush of the Vijayanagar forces by Tuppākki Krishṇappa and its defeat in October A. D. 1658.

GOLKONDA RETAINING HER POSITION IN THE CARNATIC: By this time the whole outlook had completely changed by the outbreak of the war of succession. Aurangzeb's preoccupations with it as also that of Mirjumla whose hand had been all the while visible even in the troop movements of the Carnatic removed the Mughal menace. Tuppākki Krishṇappa was operating in behalf of Mirjumla, and his successes against Śrīranga were successes in favour of Mirjumla and against the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa. Abdulla Quṭub Shah now felt clearly that Mirjumla's return and that of Aurangzeb was not likely for some time yet, and therefore took a more pronounced line of action to recover his territory in the Carnatic ostensibly from Śrīranga, but obviously from the officers of Mirjumla, such as Tuppākki Krishṇappa. He therefore appointed his own officers now, and a

Gōlkoṇḍa army under Kuli Beg is reported to be operating in favour of Gōlkoṇḍa and against the forces of Tuppākki Krishṇappa, taking advantage of a rebellion by the governor of Poonamallee earlier in the year. There were thus two Gōlkoṇḍa armies fighting for the possession of the territory which Śrīranga was doing his best to recover for himself. The Company's officials complain of the disturbances in the localities round Madras by the presence of two armies, being put to the necessity of having to go to Porto Novo and Pondicherry for purchasing the cotton goods required by them. From the Dutch records we learn that Kuli Beg had succeeded in inflicting a defeat on Tuppākki Krishṇappa, and even surrounding him and taking him prisoner. Then he was able to subdue all the districts round Madras, and even the Dutch at Pulicat had to come to terms within him. Thus Gōlkoṇḍa was coming back to its own certainly at the expense of Mirjumla, but perhaps not quite to the comfort of Śrīranga. These disturbances and what seemed a triangular fight now seem to have discouraged the English Company's servants at Fort St. George so much as to lead them to consider the possibility of abandoning Madras and seeking another fortified place instead. This complaint is made in a letter dated November 1661. In the month previous or thereabouts, the complaint

is made that, Shahji, the general of Bijapur had overrun all the territory round Gingee and Porto Novo that the Company's trade was made impossible about that region. Thus we see renewed activity both in behalf of the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa and on the side of Bijapur. Between the one and the other, the position of Śrīranga must have become difficult, and we next hear of him in the Company's records as being in the south, amidst the greater viceroys of the empire. But unfortunately we find him exerting himself this time against Bulol Khan of Bijapur, and the Company's servants express themselves rather hopefully of his succeeding. This new activity on the side of Bijapur must have been due to the same causes as those urged in favour of Gōlkoṇḍa.

GOLKONDA RECORDS IN THE CARNATIC. The Sultan of Bijapur was seriously ill as early as A.D. 1654 and his condition was reported to be precarious when Śrīranga's activities were beginning to meet with success. In A.D. 1656 he died, and Bijapur was saved a serious calamity by Aurangzeb's preoccupations in the north. The internal troubles and disputes being satisfactorily arranged for in the following few years, Bijapur could now take a more active line of action, and that is what we find reflected in the records of the English East India Company and

in the activity of Shahji round Gingee, and of the advance of Bulol Khan through the territory in the occupation of Śrīranga with a view to the reconquest of what once belonged to Bijapur. Śrīranga was now apparently gathering his resources with a view to beating back the powerful invader and reasserting his authority. To the Company's servants at Fort St. George, the effort seemed so hopeful that they seem to have expected success and consequently the prevalence of peace round about the place with a view to their carrying on their trade undisturbed. This was some time about the year A.D. 1662. One other point that we notice in these reports is that Śrīranga's success was well received in what was Gōlkoṇḍa territory under Mirjumla, and, with the Gōlkoṇḍa general, the general of Abdulla Quṭub Shah, even kept at some little distance from Madras, so that the Company's servants expected that Śrīranga would meet with little opposition. There is a further reference later on, referable to the year A. D. 1664, where it is stated generally that the Hindus were all uniting against the Muhammadans in a common effort, and their success seemed likely as the Company's servants give expression to their concern that, in case they succeeded, Śrīranga might give vent to his displeasure at the Company's agents having helped the Muhammadans against him.

So in the course of the years A. D. 1661 to 1664, though attacked all round, Śrīranga managed to hold his own with considerable success. During this period Gōlkoṇḍa officers had succeeded gradually in dislodging the officers of Mirjumla and taking possession of all the territory under his control, among which happened to be some that were in the possession of Śrīranga as well. About the end of the year A. D. 1668, we find that the Company despatched a Brahman by name Venkaṭapati to the officer in charge of the Gōlkoṇḍa territory. He travelled up to Tirupati where he could see only Chinnappalli Mirza, as he is called, a subordinate officer, who advised him to proceed to Gōlkoṇḍa itself to see the chief Neknam Khan there. It should be noted here that Raja Kuli Khan, and then Musa Khan had held this office in succession, and then Neknam Khan had been appointed governor almost in the position of Mirjumla Venkaṭapati had to negotiate business and get Neknam Khan to confirm ultimately the privileges granted to the Company by the Vijayanagar emperors before, and Mirjumla afterwards. This indicates the definite establishment of Gōlkoṇḍa authority in the region known as the Carnatic extending from the Coast down to the borders of the highlands, and extending from the frontier of Gōlkoṇḍa down to Madras at any rate, if it did not go beyond.

SRIRANGA'S LAST EFFORT TO RETAIN THE EMPIRE

Śrīranga's efforts in the south seem to have been primarily intended against Bijapur and in an effort to bring about the final defeat of Bijapur. Śrīranga wanted to unite all the viceroys together. Mysore seemed to have proved irreconcilable. Śrīranga now wanted to bring his combined resources against Mysore to compel the ruler for the time being, Doḍḍadēvarāja Oḍayār, to fall in with his policy and carry it out effectively. In this combination we see all the viceroys uniting and co-operating, namely, Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura, Vijayarāghava of Tanjore and subsequently even the Mahratta Ēkōji, Dāmarla Ayyappa and the Nāyaks of Ikkēri. It was such a formidable combination that Doḍḍadēvarāja felt he was too old to lead his armies against them, and did not have a sufficiently distinguished general to appoint to the chief command. It is said that, in this perplexity, Chikkadēvaraja Oḍayār who, as prince, was still undergoing education as a young man under his guardians in Tirukkaṇāmbi, volunteered his services to lead the forces of Mysore to success along the passes leading from Mysore into Kongu. After detaching Chokkanātha Nāyaka by diplomacy the Mysore General, defeated the combined armies at Erode, and took possession of the more prominent places in that region, if the account

given in the *History of Mysore* from the palace records compiled in Kanarese is at all dependable. Thereafter we fail to hear of Śrīranga, though we meet with occasional records in his name almost to the year A.D. 1681. But there is one event of importance which ought to be mentioned, namely, a Vijayanagar invasion of the territory of Mysore immediately after the accession of Chikkadēvarāja Oḍayār of Mysore in A.D. 1672. The event mentioned in the *Rāmarājīyamu* has reference to the year 1674. It refers to a Vijayanagar invasion under a prince by name Kōdanḍarāma, which advanced as far as Hassan, and was attacked and stopped there. The leader of the armies there mentioned as the Vijayanagar prince Kōdanḍarāma, is a great grandson of the great Rāma of Vijayanagar, and perhaps this indicates that Śrīranga was perhaps no more, or had definitely retired altogether from politics, which latter seems unlikely. That is about the last effort of Vijayanagar that we hear of.

ESTIMATE OF SRIRANGA'S ACHIEVEMENTS AND JESUIT TESTIMONY: Śrīranga, with all his good intentions and ability, fell on evil days, and had throughout been badly served by those whom he selected to fill offices of responsibility. At the time he became emperor, new forces were let loose against the empire in the Muhammadan

kingdoms of the north who were prevented from attacking the empire only by preoccupations with the Mughals. The proper policy for the empire was to make a united stand as hitherto against the incursions from the north. Śrīranga apparently understood the needs of the times and appreciated united action and made his best efforts thereto. He could not infuse sufficient patriotism or loyalty among his great viceroys, the one most guilty among them being the great viceroy Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. Tirumala Nāyaka, notwithstanding great qualities and achievements as ruler of his viceroyalty, showed a short-sightedness and a callous indifference to the interests of the empire, apart from his own, which takes away very substantially from his claims to greatness as an Indian ruler. It is Tirumala's defection and that of others who followed him and occasionally imitated his example, which proved the bane of the empire ultimately. According to the testimony of a contemporary, Father Proenza writing in 1659 :— " The old Narasinga (*Pedda Venkaṭa*) dissembled, to avoid the embarrassments of a war ". He makes the statement in regard to the attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka, and Venkaṭa allowing him his way without nipping the rebellion in the bud. The letter continues :—' But, after his death, the new king, far superior to his father in talents and

courage, hastened to vindicate his rights; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army and declared war. The Nāyak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingee, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter, informed of everything through the Nāyak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingee. Swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nāyaka secretly addressed the *subah* of Gōlkoṇḍa, and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga, obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy, who was repulsed with loss". This extract shows clearly how, at the very outset of his reign, the forces against him gathered, and what unequal struggle it meant for Śrīranga. We have already described in detail the various phases of his struggle which ultimately proved too much for him to overcome. It would be difficult for the historian to assess which of the two principal factors had the greater effect in the ultimate results, whether the disloyalty of some and the lukewarmness of others of his feudatories, or whether it was the aggressions of his

neighbours both of Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa. From the details we have given above, it would be clear that if all his feudatories had but co-operated with him loyally, it would not have been impossible for him to have kept the Muhammadans out of the frontiers of the empire and passed the empire on to his successors with the possibility of a further tenure of existence. This need not be regarded as mere speculation. The united forces of the empire may have proved, as on several occasions these did actually prove, to be equal to the necessities of the position. Primarily therefore the viceroys have to bear the blame. Śrīranga could not be charged with want of vision or failure to formulate a policy well adapted to the requirements of the difficult times in which his lot was cast. For the failure of his sehemes again, the responsibility cannot be regarded as entirely his own except perhaps to the extent of his not knowing his men and trusting important responsibilities to people who showed themselves so little dependable. In regard to the part that the foreign Companies played in this denoument, their influence is quite inconsiderable, as they took no active part except to lend some assistance now and again to the one side or the other. They took up the position of waiting upon events and recognising whomsoever had the better of it. They had therefore to change sides

several times, and their influence was therefore comparatively little. Another influence, though a distant one, is the policy of Shah Jahan, who recognised Mirjumla's claims as against the Quṭub Shah, and made the activities of Mirjumla who was already powerful still more so in contributing to the destruction of the empire. The removal of these destructive influences after A.D. 1656 was clear in the rapidity with which Śrīranga was able to regain his position as well as the Quṭub Shah himself. When ultimately Śrīranga was pushed back from the Carnatic proper, the territory round about Chandragiri and Tirupati, it was the successes of the Sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa and his forces that were mainly responsible for it. These successes were in a large measure due to the uncertain attitude of the southern viceroys. Thus we come round to the same position again that the viceroys of the empire proved false, and that was the main cause of its fall. Śrīranga's efforts were noble and patriotic, and certainly deserved well of his feudatories.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CARNATIC UNDER GOLKONDA.

TRANSFER OF THE CARNATIC TO GOLKONDA AUTHORITY. During the period covered by the reign of Śrīranga, and during the latter part of the reign of Venkaṭa, we have no inscriptional records from Tirupati referable to the reigns of either of these monarchs. There are a number of inscriptions datable in the reign of Venkaṭa, and there is one record of date A. D. 1638 referring itself to the reign of Śrīranga, notwithstanding the fact that the actual ruler for the time being was Venkaṭa, not Śrīranga,. The next precisely dated inscription in the volumes of inscriptions published by the Dēvastānam takes us at a jump as it were to A. D. 1684, to an inscription by a Mahratta officer. There are a number of other records besides, partly mutilated, perhaps referring to the period, some few of them even mentioning the ruler for the time being, but they are so far gone that we cannot make out either the name of the ruler, or even a precise date. This absence of inscriptional records during the period can be explained by the fact that there was no certainty as to the actual ruler of the locality during the period, as it seems to have been changing hands rather frequently.

The date A. D. 1638, the date of the one record referring to Śrīranga is a date just two years after Shah Jahan's treaty, and Gōlkoṇḍa's aggressive activities must then have had time to have developed sufficiently and to have reached the region of Tirupati. We have pointed out the various occasions in which Tirupati passed from the hands of the Hindu rulers into those of the Muhammadans, and, when Śrīranga actually recovered possession of Chandragiri and Tirupati. In this uncertainty it would not be strange if the transactions in the temple ceased to be as regular as usual. It would also have been impossible for pilgrims to visit the place regularly as before and make their donations; the more so for well-to-do pilgrims because of the uncertainties of travelling in safety. It is therefore nothing strange that inscriptional information ceases. We are enabled however to gather together the facts of the history of the period relating to this locality in some form because the officials of the European Companies had to write to their masters informing them of the changes taking place in the locality. The region round Tirupati, in fact the territory comprised within what are now called the Ceded Districts and what became afterwards the province of Arcot, that is the territory extending more or less from the Krishṇā down almost to

the Kāvēri, between the Ghats and the sea, became the bone of contention between Gōlkoṇḍa and Vijayanagar. Gradually the bulk of it was passing, not all at once, but in parts into the hands of Gōlkoṇḍa, so that by the time that we cease to hear of Śrīranga's activities in this locality, we find a Gōlkoṇḍa governor securely appointed and in charge of the place. Taking a date like A. D. 1672, we find Neknam Khan is the Gōlkoṇḍa governor of the locality who could renew the charter of Fort St. George as indicating that Fort St. George had definitely passed under the authority of the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa from that of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. That date corresponds also to the change of ruler in Gōlkoṇḍa. Abdulla Quṭub Shah died in that year or earlier, and was succeeded by a son-in-law, Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah, Tana Shah as he was otherwise called, the last Gōlkoṇḍa Nawab. With his accession affairs on this side assumed more or less a settled form and Gōlkoṇḍa authority actually prevails in the locality. An event of great importance that follows soon after was the invasion by Śhivāji of the Bijapur Carnatic and the part that Gōlkoṇḍa plays in that is but a very subordinate one. Śhivāji came to an understanding with the Quṭub Shah, and sought and obtained his permission to pass through the Quṭub Shahi territory to march

upon Gingee, and conquer Gingee and other places dependent upon Bijapur. So he was not called upon to do any fighting in the territory under Gōlkoṇḍa. That was in A. D. 1677. Śhivāji travelled across the whole country round to Vellore, and marched further on to Gingee and Tanjore; and, after futile negotiations to bring his brother Ekōji of Tanjore to place himself in subordination to Śhivāji his elder brother, returned. In the course of this march of Śhivāji down to the south, Śhivāji's armies marched through both Kāḷahasti and Tirupati, as it is stated. This would mean that the Mahratta army marched by the two roads, and perhaps joined again past this particular region upon Conjivaram or before that. That is all the mention that we get of Tirupati as the extract following shows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Sevagee (or be it his sonn)* being entertained in the king of Gōlcoṇḍas service, and now upon his march to fall upon Chengy† with an army of 20,000 Horsemen and 40,000 foot, the van where of (being about 5,000 Horse) allready past Trippaty and Calastry, 9 and 8 leagues Gentu from hence, and this night expected at Cangiawaran,

* Sambhaji, who succeeded his father Sivaji in 1680.

† *Chengy*, Gingee.

about 4 leagues Gentu hence*, a distance which it is very usuall for his horse to march in a night time: And the sad experiences of all countries and places where he has used to frequent obliging us to take care for the security of the Hon'ble Companys Fort and Estate in our charge. It is resolved to list what Christian souldiers we can gett as far as fifty, and what peons as far as 100; the former, with our auxilliarys, to strengthen our outguards; the latter chiefly to send up and down to the severall quarters of his army to observe his motion, and to attend our Bramany† for the better obtaining of intelligences and prevention of surprisalls.

As likewise to make two large Tents for shelter of our outguards when upon duty abroad at the passages and foords of the river, having found the want of them in our late troubles, and this to be done with all possible expedition'. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. G.* Vol. I, 9th May, 1677).

The East India Company however continued to have their business transactions with the

* Tirupati, Kāḷahasti, and Conjivaram being 75, 65, and 40 miles from Madras, a Gentu league must have measured between 8 and 10 miles.

† Our Bramany, the native political agent.

Gōlkoṇḍa rulers, and Tirupati figures in the course of these. There is a reference dated in A D. 1680 in which the Brahman agent of the Company Vīrarāghava Ayya is siad to have returned from Madanna at Gōlkoṇḍa to Akkanna then in camp at Tirupati to present him the peishcush, and negotiate with him in regard to the position of the English at Fort St. George. In another record of the same year just a few days after, there is a note of a peon coming from Kāḷahasti reporting that Akkanna had returned to Gōlkoṇḍa from Kāḷahasti after having had a stay of seven days at Tirupati. That would show that Tirupati still remained a place of importance not only as a place of pilgrimage but as a centre of administration. Early in the following year there is again a reference to Akkanna at Tirupati to whom the English as well as the Pulicat merchants failed to send complimentary presents. In consequence the new Tarafdar holding charge of Poonamallee, Linganna, a nephew both of Madanna and Akkanna, ordered an embargo upon goods being taken into Fort St. George, and a dispute followed with reprisals, etc., by Streynsham Master, the head of the Company at Madras. This shows that Tirupati had definitely passed under the Government of the Sultans of Gōlkoṇḍa and remained in their possession even as an administrative centre of some importance.

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITION OF TIRUPATI UNCERTAIN. We have already noted several occasions in which this region had been taken possession of by Mirjumla and his forces. But whether on any of these occasions any change of an administrative character was introduced in regard to Tirupati itself and the locality round it we have no information. If it had become a regular administrative centre, the change of government cannot have been altogether without any change in regard to the town of Tirupati itself, the revenues of the temple, and such property as the temple may have possessed. But in an utter absence of any statement, direct or indirect, we are hardly in a position to say what exactly took place. If we can draw an inference in the absence of records of inscriptions in the temple during the period, there must have been a certain amount of suspense of perhaps pilgrim activity and other such activities in the town. There are a certain number of other references in the East India Company's correspondence of a later period, in the thirties of the eighteenth century. They all refer to the existence of what are called town brokers and a person by name Guru Chetty, who plied their trade and paid annually eight hundred pagodas to the Company either in one payment, or in two half-yearly payments sometimes.

Again what these agents were, what exactly was the character of the business that they conducted we do not know for certain. A few years later we are in the full flood of the invasions of the Carnatic by the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and Tirupati figures pretty frequently in the transactions. That really belongs to another chapter of the history of this locality.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT DOWN TO THE FOUNDATION OF ARCOT. Before taking up an account of the Carnatic invasions by the Mahrattas, etc., it would be well to make a slight retrospect of the changes that came over the Carnatic since the Mughal conquest of the Dakhan in the last years of the 17th century. We noted already that the region dominated by Tirupati was gradually conquered and brought under the rule of Gōlkoṇḍa, and the whole process occupied the period from the treaty of Shah Jahan in A.D. 1636 right down to Mirjumla's transfer to the Mughal court in A.D. 1656, and therefrom again to A.D. 1672 when it may be said finally that the Nawab of Gōlkoṇḍa took peaceful possession of it. It was regarded as peculiarly the possession of Mirjumla under Gōlkoṇḍa first, and under the Mughal empire after A.D. 1656 when he transferred his allegiance to the Mughals. It was then that Gōlkoṇḍa played an active part and

took the territory from the officers of Mirjumla, who still struggled to maintain their position there, although a great deal weakend by the recovery of Śrīranga. First Kuli Beg, otherwise Rāja Kuli, then Musa Khan and then Neknam Khan successively were appointed to the charge of this locality, and, under the last, the English got their charter renewed as they felt the Gōlkoṇḍa conquest of the locality was final. It remained under the authority of Gōlkoṇḍa till Gōlkoṇḍa itself was conquered by Aurangzeb, Śhivāji's invasion through the territory having been more or less an incident of the Gōlkoṇḍa regime. Soon after, the territory passed to the possession of Akkanna when the two Brahman brothers, Madanna and Akkanna became the principal responsible officers for the government of the territories of Gōlkoṇḍa. All these officers governed the territory through subordinate officers who had their headquarters within the region, and conducted the government from there; and Tirupati figures as the headquarters of this subordinate government, where Chinnappalli Mirza, the local governor had to be seen by the English agent, who was thence directed to Gōlkoṇḍa itself to see the Nawab, Neknam Khan. When Akkanna had actually become the successor to Neknam Khan in this locality, he probably had a subordinate government

there; but the principal subordinate, a nephew of his own by name Podili Linganna, figures as the Tarafdar of Poonamallee, while Tirupati seems to have retained its importance as a centre of Government. Akkanna himself is said to have paid a visit to Tirupati, where he stayed for a week on official business before he returned to headquarters in A.D. 1681. Thereafter Akkanna's activities had to be transferred towards the Bijapur side. Nevertheless Linganna was carrying on the administration in behalf of Akkanna. Linganna's territory must have taken in Tirupati as well, as he claims to have effected the conquest of Śīra from Bijapur, perhaps against the possibility of Mysore taking it, in behalf of Gōlkoṇḍa. The years following were years of active efforts in Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijapur to resist the advance of the Mughals, as in that year Aurangzeb transferred himself to the Dakhan from Rajaputana to bring the never-ending struggle against the Mahrattas, Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa to a conclusion. He attacked Bijapur first, and after a prolonged siege put an end to that kingdom. While prosecuting the siege of Bijapur, he also carried on a war against the Mahrattas whose power was to a considerable extent broken by Sambaji being taken prisoner by the Mughals, and put to death afterwards by order of the emperor. Then the whole

resources of the empire were turned upon Gōlkoṇḍa, and Gōlkoṇḍa in its turn fell. With the fall of Gōlkoṇḍa naturally the Gōlkoṇḍa Carnatic passed into the possession of the Mughal empire. Having conquered the two southern kingdoms and crippled the Mahrattas at least temporarily to the extent of making them powerless for inflcting much injury upon the Mughal territory, Aurangzeb is said to have sent forward ambassadors to the south demanding the allegiance of the Indian states. Mysore is said to have saved itself by sending a timely embassy, while the distant viceroy of Madura defied the authority demanding submission. Aurangzeb felt that he should send forward Zulfikar Khan to take possession of Gingee first of all, and therefrom operate to bring the other viceroys to subordination. The activities of Zulfikar Khan before the walls of Gingee occupied more than ten years, in fact it is counted twelve, when ultimately Gingee fell in the last days of December 1698, Zulfikar Khan not having prosecuted the siege seriously to its completion, till, on receipt of a complaint from a subordiate Hindu chieftain, Aurangzeb sent in a peremptory order. Gingee fell and with it the Mahratta resistance from that side. Rājarām was allowed to retire with all his troops and belongings into the Mahratta country to begin what was called the

people's war of the Mahrattas which proved far more detrimental to the Mughal empire than the previous activities of the Mahrattas. With the fall of Ginee a southern province of the Mughals was established, but not being sufficiently distinct and having been more or less regarded as a fief of Zulfikar Khan, no capital is mentioned specifically as that of the Mughal Carnatic. But Zulfikar Khan's services were wanted elsewhere. He had to leave behind his lieutenant Daud Khan in charge. Daud Khan resided for some time in Gingee, and then in Arcot, and then for a short time in Madras. The camp that he made for himself on the other side of the Pālar river on the highroad to Vellore became Arcot of later history, and was actually made the recognised capital of the Carnatic, when his own civil officer, Sayyad Muzafar became Nawab in his turn as Sadat-ulla-Khan of Arcot in A.D. 1710. We might date the foundation of the province of Arcot with this officer, a man of administrative capacity, having had this training under Aurangzeb and of good feeling towards his subjects, irrespective of caste or community. He belonged to the famous community of Newait, to which community belonged Hyder Ali, and in which we could mention many of the Muhammadan officers distinguished for sympathetic administration. With Arcot for the capital, Vellore would naturally become the

citadel of the province. Chandragiri and Tirupati would normally figure also as important centres and headquarters of divisions under the bigger province. This province of Arcot as it may hereafter be called, the territory that really was the Gōlkoṇḍa Carnatic, enjoyed a measure of prosperity and good administration under Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his successor Dost Ali for a period of more than thirty years.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE PROVINCE OF ARCOT PEACEFUL. In the meanwhile, great changes were taking place in the Mughal empire, and as a consequence of the revolutions at Court, the province of the Dakhan, the richest under the empire, was also changing hands rapidly. At last an officer of great promise under Aurangzeb, had forged his way to prominence; and, on the death of the Sayyad brothers in bringing about which he had to play the principal part, this officer, Chingli Khan, obtained possession of the viceroyalty of the Dakhan with the title Asaf Jah. He took charge of the province in A.D. 1724 and settled himself down in the Dakhan once for all in the following year, and that was the foundation of the Nizamship of Hyderabad. With the foundation of the Dakhan Subha, the relation between the Dakhan and the Carnatic, or the Nawabship of Arcot as we might now call it, changes. We

have already pointed out that after the fall of Gōlkoṇḍa, the whole of the Carnatic passed into the hands of Zulfikar Khan, who appointed the Afghan Daud Khan as his deputy. Daud Khan in his turn handed over charge to Sadat-ulla-Khan when he was called away to take charge of Mālva in the north. Sadat-ulla-Khan ruled as Nawab from thence onward till 1732 when he was succeeded by his nephew Dost Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic. It is his death in 1740 that throws the Carnatic into a vortex of wars. During the period, however, the Nizam was occupied with the growing power of the Mahrattas under the Peshwas on the one side, and the important changes that were developing also in the Mughal empire in the north. The confusions in the Mughal empire had come to a close by the time that the Nizam definitely settled down in the Dakhan paying but slight attention to affairs in the empire. The Subah of the Dakhan consisted of six provinces, and was, from the point of revenue, a very large fertile province bringing in as much as 12 lacs of pagodas as against 1,60,000 or 1,70,000 of the twelve other provinces of Hindustan constituting the Mughal empire. There was the Carnatic besides the six provinces, perhaps the richest of the Dakhan possessions. His predecessor in the Subah, Hussain Ali in the reign of Farruksiyar had agreed

to a treaty with the Mahrattas in order that they may cease harassing his viceroyalty. He obtained the imperial sanction recognising Sahu as independent sovereign of the Mahrattas, and assigning to the Mahrattas the right of collecting *chauth* (fourth) and *sardēśmukhi* (tenth) in the six provinces of the Dakhan and of the tributary states not only of the Gōlkoṇḍa Carnatic, but also Tanjore, Mysore and Trichinopoly. This arrangement of Hussain Ali with the Mahrattas followed close upon the first period of Asaf Jah's efforts as Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of the Dakhan. When again he came into the position permanently, he had naturally to recognise this arrangement, and had also wisely compounded with the Mahrattas that their armies should not be sent into the actual territory of the Nizam for collecting *chauth* on condition that he made an annual payment as equivalent therefor. That saved him much annoyance within his own territory; but the same relief had not been stipulated for for the other provinces dependent upon Dakhan, but outside the limits of the Nizam's territory proper. Sahu's rule was disturbed at the commencement and had been brought into some kind of an order gradually till at last soon after this treaty, the Peshwaship got to be established, and the Peshwas conducted the administration in the name of Sahu. This

change in the administration increased the activity of the Mahrattas a great deal, and, by the time that the Nizam established himself permanently in his Subah, Baji Rao was the Peshwa. While Baji Rao respected the treaty so far as the actual territory of the Nizam was concerned, he showed himself extremely active in the outlying provinces of the Dakhan Subha itself, and in the provinces of the Mughal empire next adjacent. This activity on his side called for the attention of the Nizam who had to keep a constant watch.

INVASIONS OF THE CARNATIC BY THE MAHRATTAS AND THE NIZAM. All this while the Carnatic was well-governed and quietly administered by Sadat-ulla-Khan, and his nephew successor Dost Ali, whose administration was generally beneficial and therefore popular. The death of the first in 1732 and the accession of his nephew in his stead without any reference to the Nizam gave the Nizam offence. With his preoccupation with the Mahrattas and the troubles in the Mughal empire itself, the Nizam did not wish to embroil himself with a war nearer home. So he encouraged the Mahrattas invading the territory of Dost Ali and demanding the usual inevitable *chutah*. Dost Ali, though ordinarily peacefully inclined found the decadent viceroyalty of Madura with

headquarters at Trichinopoly, too attractive to be left alone. A war was undertaken against Trichinopoly, and the conduct of it was entrusted to his son-in-law, Chanda Saheb, who first occupied Trichinopoly by a perfidious act which ultimately drove the last Nāyak queen to commit suicide, and took possession of Trichinopoly. This event is generally dated 1739, and the invasion of the Mahrattas followed close on this in the following year. The Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhonsle advanced into the Carnatic at the head of a force of 10,000, on the ostensible plea that the *chauth* and *sardēshmukhi*, the authority for collecting which they obtained, had remained in arrears for years, and they wanted to collect the arrears. The Nizam found in this a convenient excuse to set them upon Dost Ali. It is also believed that Chanda Saheb's occupation of Trichinopoly brought about this invasion, as the son of Dost Ali and his minister did not like that Chanda Saheb, son-in-law of Dost Ali, should establish himself in power at Trichinopoly, and therefore invited the Mahrattas. In whatever way it happened, it actually came about that the Mahrattas invaded the Carnatic, and, before Dost Ali had intimation of it they were already at the head of the pass leading into Chittoor. Dost Ali made the best of a bad bargain, and took his stand at the pass of

Dāmalcheruvu through which the Mahrattas had to descend by the Kallūr Pass to get into the plains. Notwithstanding the strong defences, Dost Ali suffered a defeat both himself and a son of his by name Hussain Ali falling in the battle in 1740. Sufdar Ali had come up in obedience to the commands of the father; but the battle was by then over, and he had therefore to take up a defensive position and negotiate the terms of a treaty with the Mahrattas through his father's Minister Mir Asad, a prisoner with the Mahrattas. After plundering the country to their heart's content the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhonsle agreed to withdraw on the payment of a crore of rupees, which Safdar Ali agreed to pay. Safdar Ali now became Nawab, and, for greater safety, shifted his capital to Vellore, where his cousin Murtaz Ali or Murtiza Ali was at the time holding the Governorship in succession to his father. He had accumulated much wealth and had married a sister of Safdar Ali. Safdar Ali thought he could exploit his wealth for paying the indemnity to the Mahrattas; but Murtiza Ali was not the man to part with his wealth easily. Provoked by the evasions of his cousin Safdar Ali immediately threatened drastic action. Smarting from the public disgrace, Murtiza Ali brought about the assassination of Safdar Ali. Murtiza in his turn placed himself on the throne, and his

anxiety to keep his money made the mutinous army rebel against him as he did not pay the arrears due to them. Murtiza Ali managed to escape, and the army placed upon the throne Muhammad Ali, the infant son of Safdar Ali in charge of his mother at Madras. An uncle of the baby, Tukya Saheb by name, Governor of Wandiwash, was entrusted with the Government. The Nizam had information of these changes and found it a good opportunity to interfere, having been unable to do so all the time that Dost Ali was alive. He invaded the Carnatic at the head of a very large army. The government at Arcot submitted and the Nizam confirmed the infant Muhammad Ali as the Nawab appointing Anwar-ud-Din, a much trusted official of his as guardian to the young prince. Anwar-ud-Din removed the prince to Arcot and was carrying on the administration from there, when the occasion of a marriage in June 1744 was taken advantage of to assassinate the young prince. A Pathan soldier who killed him was immediately killed in his turn, and no one knows as yet definitely who was really responsible for the assassination, the blame being thrown upon both Anwar-ud-Din and Murtiza Ali. Anwar-ud-Din satisfied the Nizam as to his innocence and was rewarded with the Nawabship of the Carnatic

in 1744, Safdar Jung having been assassinated just two years before.

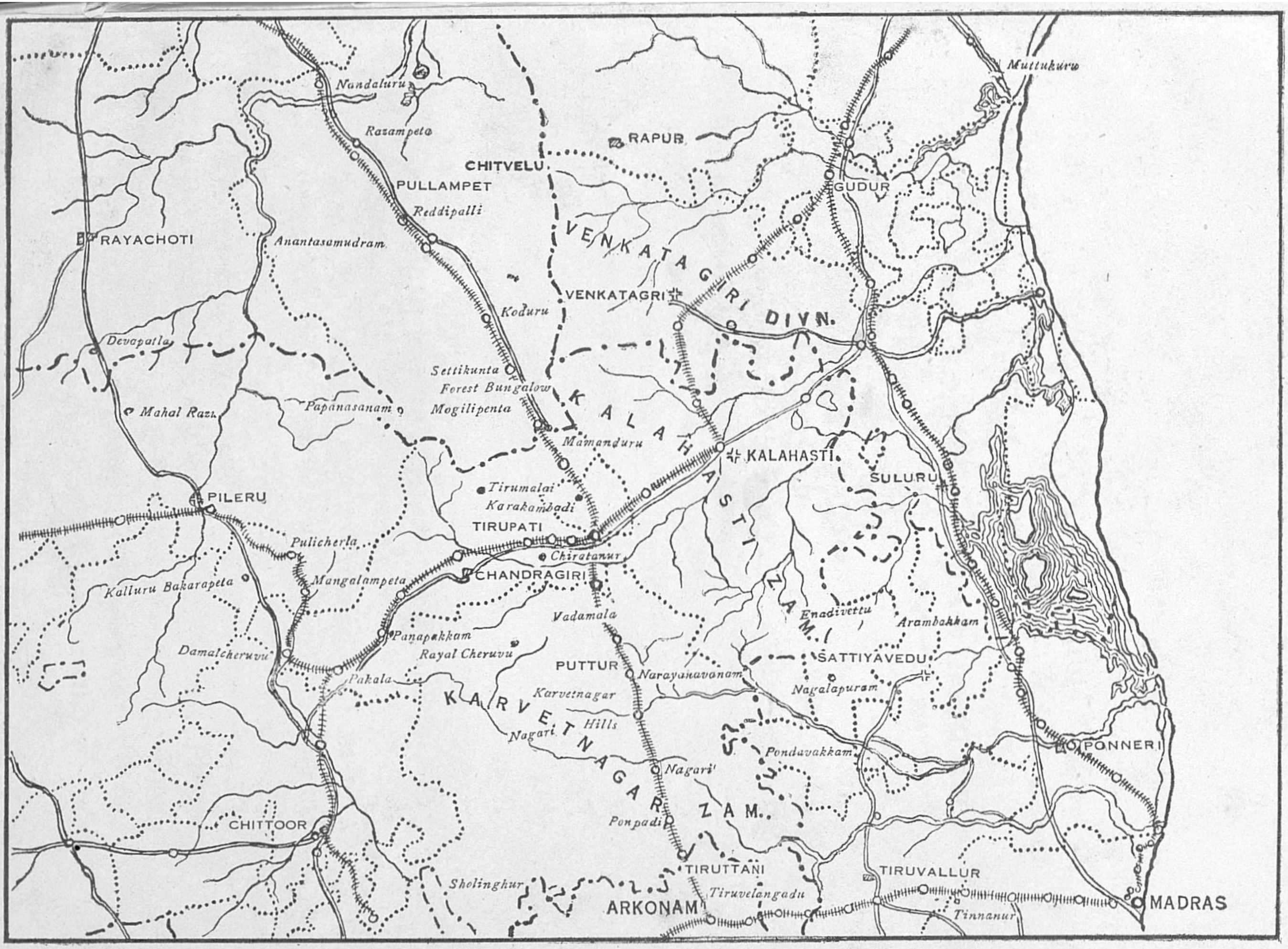
Just about this time, the English East India Company and the French Company which had been founded afterwards had both of them attained to a settled position and a flourishing trade, and for the first time, these Companies went to war against each other in consequence of a war between France and England in Europe. The initiative was taken by the French Government. The English had the worst of it to begin with. As they were unprepared, Madras was taken in 1746, and was restored in return for a heavy payment. It was unusual hitherto that these Companies fought against each other on the territory of the Nawabs of Arcot, though they sometimes did fight on the sea. Naturally therefore Anwar-ud-Din, the Nawab objected to the French having attacked Madras and sent a force against the French. A small detachment of French soldiers defeated his army of 10,000, and thus gave the first indication to the European Companies themselves that they could fight against Indian powers with advantage. Now the French Governor Dupleix negotiated with Anwar-ud-Din and induced him to change sides and get into a French alliance as being the more advantageous, and this was the beginning of

European interference in the affairs of the country powers. Soon after peace was concluded in Europe by the Peace of Aix-la-Chappelle in 1748, the war in India must have come to a close. It did not.

CHAPTER XX.

CARNATIC WARS.

MUHAMMAD ALI NAWAB OF THE CARNATIC. The year of the treaty of 1748 is of importance in South Indian History as in that year the great Nizam died in Hyderabad and there was a disputed succession. The Mahratta Raja Sahu also died at Satara; but the Peshwa's regime continued without change and hardly affected the history of the Carnatic with which we are concerned. What is really more important notwithstanding the treaty between France and England is, Dupleix conceived the idea as a result of the defeat that he was able to inflict upon Anwar-ud-Din's forces, that the French might play their part in the changed history of the Carnatic, and thus establish something like a French empire in India ultimately. Another important circumstance also tended to encourage Dupleix in this notion of his. Chanda Saheb, the son-in-law of Dost Ali had taken possession of Trichinopoly from the last Nāyak queen which brought down an invasion of the Mahrattas almost at the invitation of Safdar Ali, the Nawab, and Chanda Saheb's brother-in-law. The Nizam also encouraged their coming in as it were. The



TIRUPATI AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

(To face page 506).

invasion resulted in the capture of Trichinopoly, Chanda Saheb being taken prisoner. But since Chanda Saheb's family remained in Pondicherry for safety, Dupleix worked through them with Chanda Saheb to come to an understanding. The death of the Nizam-ul-Mulk led to a war of succession, Nazir Jung being the nearest on the spot and already enjoying some authority during his father's administration, seized the throne. But a grandson by name Muzafar Jung seems to have been the nominee of the Nizam, and had much other support besides, among which that of Chanda Saheb. So Chanda Saheb threw in his lot with him and wanted to bring about Muzafar's accession in the Dakhan and his own in the Carnatic. There was therefore a combined invasion which debouched into the plains of the Carnatic by way of Āmbūr. Anwar-ud-Din had timely intimation of it and prepared himself to resist by placing himself at the head of the Āmbūr valley. A battle was fought in July 1749, and notwithstanding the large army well placed in a good situation, Anwar-ud-Din was defeated by the allies, chiefly through the assistance of the French and fell in the battle. Muzafar Jung and Chanda Saheb marched upon Arcot after the victory, and Muzafar Jung was declared Subahdar of the Dakhan, and he invested in his turn Chanda Saheb with the title of the Nawab

of the Carnatic. In the meanwhile, Nazir Jung collected as large an army as he could and marched repidly down, coming upon the allies near Pondicherry at the village of Vaḻudāvūr. In the battle following the allies were defeated and Muzafar Jung was taken prisoner, thus dealing the first blow to the machinations of Dupleix. Nazir Jung however committed the mistake of retiring to Arcot and neglecting further action necessary. Chanda Saheb who was more active, besieged Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din, in Trichinopoly, and the French operating against Gingee took the strong fortress. Instead of proceeding to take the field, Nazir Jung opened negotiations with Dupleix who demanded the release of Muzafar Jung and the acknowledgment of Chanda Saheb as the Nawab of the Carnatic. In the course of these negotiations, while Nazir Jung himself was pusillanimously on the point of yielding, he was assassinated by some of the Pathan chiefs in his own army with whom Dupleix successfully intrigued against him. In the very thick of the battle, while the fortunes of it were wavering, Nazir Jung had been shot dead by the Nawab of Cuddapah, one of the conspirators, resulting in Muzafar Jung being proclaimed Nizam and Chanda Saheb Nawab of the Carnatic again. On the return journey to Hyderabad, however,

another of the conspirators, the Nawab of Kurnool, assassinated Muzafar Jung, and through the exertions of Bussy, the French General, Salabat Jung, the third son of the late Nizam was aknowledged as ruler. Chanda Saheb was pressing the siege of Trichinopoly, and the famous diversion by the attack of Arcot by an English force under Clive, was undertaken. Arcot was surprised by the English troops, and was in its turn besieged, and the siege ended in failure. A battle however had to be fought against the son of Chanda Saheb who was laying waste the country between Arcot and Conjivaram, and this son Rāja Saheb was defeated in the battle of Kāvērippākkam some way north of Conjivaram. Clive thence marched through Āmbūr to Trichinopoly, and Trichnopoly ultimately surrendered, Chanda Saheb being later on murdered, as it was believed, at the instigation of Muhammad Ali. Muhammad Ali thus became Nawab of the Carnatic.

ANARCHICAL CONDITION OF THE CARNATIC. The strong fortress of Wandiwash under the government of Tukya Saheb was not attacked, and it finally surrendered. Finding that Rāja Saheb had not the money to defray the expenses of the army, Dupleix now changed over, and wanted to negotiate with the rich Murtiza Ali to make him

governor. Murtiza Ali saw through the game and escaped from Pondicherry back to Vellore. The defeat of Kāvērippākkam and the dispersal of Rāja Saheb's army set up numbers of free bands of military men under commanders of ability who took it upon themselves to harass the country. One of these by name Muhammad Kamal at the head of a compact body of troops wandered about and mastered possession of the territory round Nellore and pillaged the country round about to his heart's content. In 1753 he marched upon Tirupati. Tirupati had already been given over to the British by Muhammad Ali for their assistance in the recent wars, and was yielding a large revenue. Muhammad Kamal's attack was opposed by the despatch of English troops from Madras. But the small force sent was defeated by him, and with further reinforcements, the English got the better of their enemy by the accident of Kamal's elephant being killed, and his own troops abandoning him at the nick of time owing to fright. He was captured and executed immediately. It is about this time that the European governments in England and France got tired of these costly wars between the Companies, and the French government in particular recalled Dupleix and sent in another officer Mons. Godeheu, who arrived in Pondicherry in 1754. As a result of this Muhammad

Ali was recognised as Nawab of the Carnatic, and it was further agreed that neither the English nor the French should interfere in the affairs of Indian states for the future. Neither of the Companies however was inclined to respect the treaty. The English went on helping Muhammad Ali to reduce his territory to subjection, and the French were equally active on their side attacking various points in the territory of Arcot against Muhammad Ali. The region round Tirupati came into the possession of three zamindars generally called Western Poligars in history. These were Venkaṭagiri in the north, Kāḷahasti in the middle and Kārvēṭinagar, sometimes called Bommarāzupāḷayam, in the south covering practically the whole of the open frontier on the eastern side. The English assisted Muhammad Ali with troops to bring these Poligars under control. These were put under tribute. The next attack fell on Vellore. But Murtiza Ali besought the good offices of the French at Pondicherry who objected to the English operating against Vellore as a breach of the peace, and a French force was sent to enforce this protest. Muhammad Ali was not willing to try his strength against the French, and Vellore was abandoned on payment of 20,000 rupees by Murtiza Ali.

TIRUPATI UNDER THE NAWAB OF ARCOT IN ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY. Since the death of Dost Ali, there has been confusion in the territory of the Carnatic and the region round Tirupati shared in this confusion. We have reference to Tirupati in the course of the Nizam's invasion to which we made reference in 1743. The diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai notes that the officers of the Mahratta contingent, Rāja Chandra Sen and Rāja Nimbali Siyudosi visited Tirupati at the head of their 20,000 troops for worship. This would mean that Tirupati continued under some kind of administration, and worship was being conducted peacefully. The next reference is to the year 1746 and the diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai, notes the receipt of presents from the zamindar of Kārvēṭinagar who is called Rāja Narasinga of Bommarāzupāḷaiyam, and among the presents was *prasādam* from Tirupati. He also notes he was requested to pay a visit to Tirupati. There is also another note later in the year in October of a certain Ārumuga Paṇḍāram, a physician sent over to treat this Rāja, returning after visiting Tirupati and Kāḷahasti. About the same time he also notes that a sowcar (banker) of Pondicherry paid a visit to Tirupati. There is an interesting reference to the year 1747 when an English Dubash by name Mutiyāl Nāyak visited Nasir Jung and was

returning from Hyderabad by way of Tirupati. It must be noted there that, as we have already noted in the case of the English agent going to Neknam Khan visiting Tirupati first, those that had to go to Hyderabad from the south passed through Tirupati as though it were on the highway to Hyderabad. The diarist here notes that an attempt was made to waylay this English agent and take possession of all that he carried by way of presents, etc., from the Nizam. There is another note in April 1748 referring to an ascetic coming from Tirupati carrying 300 pagodas with him for celebrating the *Vaikāśi* festival at Tiruvēndipuram near Cuddalore. The next following reference is a very interesting one, and is dated 3rd October 1749. The note says that one Śrīnivāsāchār who was Amaldar of Tirupati did not pay the stipulated rent and fell in arrears. He fled from the place, and another person by name Vāsudēvāchār was appointed on condition that he paid a lac of pagodas for the outstanding dues up to the end of the year 1749, and was given a further tenure of office for three years at 47,000 pagodas a year. This was apparently an arrangement made originally by the Nawabs of Arcot. In a later entry the diarist mentions the death of a certain Dūmalli Krishṇāji Paṇḍit. He is described as the Dewan of Nawab Sadat-ul-la Khan, and is said to have

died on the 22nd November 1749. He is further described as a Gōlkoṇḍa *vyāpāri*, a sect of Telugu Brahmans generally officials, who enjoyed the confidence of the Nizam, apparently the first of the name, Nazir Jung and Muzafar Jung alike. He is said to have attended the *Brahmōtsavam* at Tirupati soon after Anwar-ud-Din Khan's death, and it was on that occasion that he leased out the Amaldāri to Śrīnivāsāchār. He is said to have joined camp at Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam and died there. He is said to have demanded, from Arcot, crude camphor, musk and Malacca sandalwood for the use of the temple at Tirupati which the diarist states he had forwarded. It becomes clear from this that the Nawabs of Arcot had farmed out Tirupati to particular officials for yearly payments. The entries in the diary make it clear that, after the death of Anwar-ud-Din, a fresh lease was given to Śrīnivāsāchār, who failed and had to give up his position; and another Vāsudēvāchār was appointed in his stead as Amaldar. In this appointment, the specific annual revenue to be paid by the Amaldar is stated to be 47,000 pagodas a year, and one lac in payment of arrears to the end of the year 1749, and he was given the tenure of office for three years following 1749. This makes it clear that it was the usual practice to farm out this revenue for a stipulated annual payment, and

that was being done by those who got possession of the locality as a result of the battle of Āmbūr. The person actually referred to, Dūmalli Krishṇāji Paṇḍit, seems to have been an official of the Arcot Nawabship who enjoyed the confidence also of the Nizam. Therefore this arrangement must be in behalf of the victors. Here the editor of the Diary, Mr. Dodwell adds* that "the Tirupati revenues consisted of the dues collected from the pilgrims at the three annual pilgrimages, and amounted to 45,000 pagodas plus Rs. 52,000. I suppose the runaway Amaldar to be the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on." Mr. Dodwell does not quote the authority for this, but we might take it that he found it in some kind of English record, Country Correspondence or something like that, as he notes in respect of other details in that volume. But the two items he entered 45,000 pagodas and 52,000 rupees cannot be altogether the same kind of a revenue. Of course Rs. 45,000 pagodas is obviously not an error. It would seem as though the 45,000 pagodas were the revenues of the temple from its landed properties, etc., and Rs. 52,000 the amount from the contributions made by the pilgrims. But we cannot be sure till we know Mr. Dodwell's authority for the statement. If it should however turn out to be

*A. R. P. Diary Vol. vi, p. 201

well authenticated, it would mean that the first Nawabs of Arcot settled the revenue of Tirupati by farming it out to persons specifically appointed, perhaps Vaishṇavas, who had to pay a part of the revenues collected yearly, and the two separate items would, in those circumstances, mean revenues assessed in pagodas from lands etc., and the other sums collected from the contributions of pilgrims which is set down in rupees as a matter of convenience. This would make a total demand of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees annually. Śrīnivāsāchār's running away was because of this heavy assessment. We shall presently note the changes that came over this in the coming years.

REVENUES OF TIRUPATI ASSIGNED TO THE ENGLISH; MUHAMMAD KAMAL'S ADVENTURE: The above note in the diary is important as giving us an insight into the actual character of the administration of Tirupati under the Nawabs of Arcot. Changes were coming rapidly over this soon after. The victory at Āmbūr was followed soon by the relief of the siege of Arcot, and ultimately by the relief of Trichinopoly. The siege of Arcot was relieved in 1751, soon after in the September of the year. That only relieved the garrison to return to Madras. But Rāja Saheb at the head of his army was still hanging round.

Clive marched up again, and coming upon Rāja Saheb at Kāverippāk between Conjivaram and Arcot, defeated Rāja Saheb's army and, dispersing it, put it beyond mischief as a united force, and then marched on, by way of Āmbūr and Wandiwash, to the relief of Trichinopoly. All this took place in the year 1751, and at the end of it, the English received the grant from Nawab Muhammad Ali of certain revenues from the Carnatic, among which happened to be that of the temple at Tirupati, so that after 1751, the English had the right to receive from the renter the money that was due to the Nawabship at Arcot. They became the beneficiaries, as it were, of the arrangement made by Dūmalli Krishṇāji Paṇḍit. They were not however allowed the enjoyment of it for long. The dispersal of Rāja Saheb's forces destroyed undoubtedly the army against the Nawab; but the sections constituting the army, some of them at any rate, held together, and spreading themselves through various parts of the province squatted upon localities, and taking the revenues and levying other contributions, not only maintained themselves but even went the length of enlarging their contingents and consequently their sphere of operations. The most audacious among these was an officer by name Muhammad Kamal, who marched at the head of his division through the

best part of Arcot, and, for safety, launched himself upon the district of Nellore in the north-eastern extremity of the province and squatted upon the division governed by Nazibullah, one of the brothers of Muhammad Ali. Successfully turning him from there to Arcot for refuge, Muhammad Kamal made himself master of the province and descended upon Tirupati, the revenue of which was so certain and steady that it proved an attraction to evey adventurer. He moved down by way of Karakambāḍi and marched upon Tirupati, the revenue of which at the time is stated to be 60,000 pagodas a year, or 24,000 pounds sterling as Orme sets it down. The English forces, which were the only active ones in the whole of the Carnatic, were all of them otherwise engaged round Trichinopoly, and places in the south. Muhammad Kamal therefore had his own way. On information of his marching upon Tirupati, the Presidency Government was alarmed for its revenues, and sent a contingent of 40 Europeans, two companies of Sepoys and three pieces of cannon towards the pagoda at once, ordering that Nazibullah and his troops may be sent over to join them. This force did not arrive in time, and when the English force came to Tirupati they had to meet Muhammad Kamal without assistance. They fought till they exhausted their ammunition, and

lost their chief officer, and then retreated They were joined on the following day by Nazibulla's army. They marched again upon Muhammad Kamal. The two met on the plains at the foot of the hill, and the timely fall by the enemies' shot of Muhammad Kamal's elephant made their victory certain, as his army fled at the sight of the fall of his standard with the elephant. He was taken prisoner, and, by order of Nazibulla Khan, he was beheaded. The death of Muhammad Kamal removed the most powerful and active enemy of the government of Arcot, the others being much less considerable.

FRENCH EFFORTS TO SECURE THE REVENUES OF TIRUPATI: Before this incident however of Muhammad Kamal, we must note that, about the September of the year 1751, some time after the appointment of Amaldár Vāsudēvāchār referred to above, Madame Dupleix sent out an Amaldar of her own, who is named Rājagōpāla Paṇḍit. Vāsudēvāchār stood his ground and not merely declined to hand over office to him, but actually turned him out thus successfully asserting his right as Amaldar properly appointed, whose term had not come to a close. This was about the end of the year 1751, and Muhammad Kamal's operations against Tirupati took place in 1753. Soon after this incident of Muhammad

Kamal, a change came over in the French Company's affairs. The French government, disapproving of the policy of Dupleix, sent out Mons. Godehu as Governor, and he took charge at Pondicherry in the middle of the year 1754. Soon after his arrival a treaty was entered into acknowledging Muhammad Ali the Nawab of the Carnatic, and a condition was imposed upon both the Companies that neither party should interfere in the affairs of Indian states. Both of them, however, showed little inclination to respect this. Muhammad Ali was in no condition to rule his own province, and the English had to lend him troops to enforce obedience to his rule. The French had to send assistance to other states in the south. Since neither party showed sufficient inclination to respect their own treaty, the state of constant war between them continued as if no treaty had been entered into. One of the occasions when Muhammad Ali required English assistance was to bring his tributaries, the eastern zamindars of Venkaṭagiri, Kāḷahasti and Kārvēṭinagar into obedience to him. Having beaten the recalcitrant zamindars into submission and putting them under tribute, the English army marched upon Vellore to the support of Murtiza Ali. The French objected and promptly marched with troops. As Murtiza Ali was unwilling to fight, the French force was

persuaded to depart on payment of 20,000 rupees by him. Tirupati and the surrounding zamindars continued therefore nominally under the rule of Muhammad Ali, but Tirupati was actually paying its revenues to the English. Early in the year 1753 the diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai notes a march of the Nāna, Bālāji Rao Peshwa, and Muzafar Khan towards the Carnatic. At the same time, Narasinga Rao is said to be marching against Tirupati against Morari Rao's invasion. There follows a battle between the Nizam Salabat Jung and the Peshwa in which the Peshwa had the worst of it. The diarist however notes that these rumours were not altogether credible. That is early in the year 1755. But a later entry dated October 24 gives the interesting detail that the whole of Muhammad Ali's territory was worth 24 lakhs of rupees, of which the English have already been granted a *jāghīr* worth three lakhs besides the revenues of Tirupati, Chingleput, Tiruppāchūr, and other countries yielding about 9 lakhs. It is further stated, that, out of the rest, the English had taken again 8 lakhs worth of country leaving Muhammad Ali only a revenue of 4 lakhs for the expenses of his household. Further down he notes that Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly newly conquered were to remain with them, so that it is clear from this that according to the diarist, Muhammad Ali was

ruler in name, the English took practically all the revenues. He notes elsewhere that Muhammad Ali had only the government in name, while the English have had to supply all the troops. There is an entry in the month of December that the family of Muhammad Kamal removed to Madras with Muhammad Ali's permission and a request was preferred for a sum of 20 pagodas for Muhammad Kamal's tomb at Tirupati. About the end of the same month, there is another entry that Madame (Godehu) had promised to give 18,000 rupees to Madānanda Paṇḍit "in the Tirupati affair" and that this was divided equally between him and the Mysore Agent, Venkaṭa Nāraṇappayyan. It is noted that they wrote again apparently in regard to the matter of renting Tirupati. All this writing is about a rumour that Dupleix and Madame were returning to India and that the French government was going to be made over to them again. There is some correspondence in regard to the matter with Mysore, both Dēvarāja and Nanjarāja his brother, being then actually in power.

FURTHER MUHAMMADAN EFFORTS AGAINST TIRUPATI. The year 1756 again shows Muhammadan activity against Tirupati. Nazibulla brother of Muhammad Ali rebelled against him, and took possession of Nellore wherefrom he was

committing raids all round. In the course of it, he marched upon Tirupati. This attracted no attention, however, as it did not threaten the Company's interests as yet. In the following year, Nazibulla showed more aggressive activity. He is said to have seized the fort of Salāva, which belonged to the Nawab. It is regarded as a fortified place near Nārāyaṇavaram identifiable with either Mārkarāzudurg or Akasārjukōṭa. It is stated that it is probably the latter. This is an important position as it was on one of the main roads to Tirupati for pilgrims and others. This made his motive clear, as the *Brahmōtsavam* at Tirupati was approaching. A detachment was therefore immediately despatched from Madras which occupied the town of Tirupati at the foot of the hill. Thus baulked in his designs, Nazibulla retired from the neighbourhood, at the same time doing the utmost he could to turn back as many of the pilgrims as he could from going to the hill shrine, making the revenues for the year suffer. The following year 1758, Tirupati was again threatened, this time by another brother of Muhammad Ali by name Abdul Wahab. He was appointed *Killadār* of Arcot, and his fidelity was suspected in the course of the later wars. Fearing danger he and his mother fled to the fort of Chittoor for protection as it belonged to his mother. Efforts at

compromise proved useless. Abdul Wahab maintained himself at Chittoor plundering the territory round about. This Abdul Wahab was called in to assist the Nawab's army against Amṛta Rao attacking Tiruppattūr. After Amṛta Rao's defeat and death at Tiruppattūr, Abdul Wahab returned to the fortress of Chandragiri with a view to take possession of the town of Tirupati, "because its revenue equals to 30,000 pounds a year arising from the contributions of devotion is always more certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic" as Orme puts it. Another incident of importance took place soon after this. Two officers of distinction, Rāghavāchāri and Bālakrishṇa Śāstri came with a commission from the Peshwa to superintend the collection of the *chauth* from the Carnatic, and they asked the Mahratta officer Balwant Rao commanding the army of the South then at Cadappanattam for a contingent to assist them. Balwant Rao refused on the ground that he had settled the matter of the *chauth* satisfactorily and there was nothing more to be done. Thus disappointed these two officers raised a body of 500 horse and a thousand foot from the recently disbanded army of Cuddapah, and proceeding to the country of the Maṭlavār between the territories of Venkaṭagiri and Kāḷahasti, advanced through the pass of Karakambādi upon the town of Tirupati itself.

The renter of Tirupati stood his ground with his own sepoys and peons. In the course of the engagement, Rāghavāchāri was shot dead by the garrison just where Muhammad Kamal was five years before, and the besieging army broke. It was soon after this that Abdul Wahab thought of trying his fortunes attempting to capture Tirupati. He raised a considerable force and threatened the Lower Town. But the rumours of the advance of an English force made him retire. He seized possession of Chandragiri however, and there waited for a favourable opportunity. It was then that Bussy was returning from Hyderabad under orders from Lally to effect a junction with him in his operations against Madras. On the way from Hyderabad the contingent he left with Moracin at Nellore halted at Tirupati seizing possession of the Company's renter, and intimidated him into resigning to him the revenues of the temple in October 1758. Both Nazibulla from Nellore and Abdul Wahab from Chandragiri joined him and accompanied him to the south. Finding that Bussy was inclined to retain the revenues of Tirupati, Abdul Wahab left the army once for all, and took up his residence in Chandragiri.

THE MAHRATTAS AND TIRUPATI: Tirupati had all the while been regarded as an attractive possession as the diarist Ranga Pillai notes under date

29th August 1757 that the French had promised possession of Tirupati to Amṛta Rao, Nāna's (the Peshwa's) *gumastah* for 2 lakhs of pagodas annually as the latter was not able to come to terms with the English. But nothing seems to have come out of it. The Commander-in-chief of the Mahratta forces, Balavant Rao, during his stay on this frontier, wished to pay a visit to Tirupati and came at the head of his army. The renter would not allow the army to approach; and Balavant Rao had to stop his army with strict orders not to ravage the country, and paid a visit to worship at Tirupati with his own personal following. After Balavant Rao left for the Mahratta country under the Peshwa's orders, there was another Mahratta adventure in 1759. While the siege of Madras was progressing under Count d'Lally, a Mahratta officer by name Gōpāl Rao, encamped himself in Dāmalcheruvu, marched from there to Tirupati, ascended the hill and took possession of the shrine in the March of the year. He had to retire, however, in response to the orders of the Peshwa calling back the Mahratta forces from the south. But he left a detachment under one Nārāyaṇa Śāstri with a comparatively slender force. This was overpowered by Abdul Wahab attacking from Chandragiri. Lest he should be taken to task by the English he reported the matter to them, only

requesting that he might be allowed to farm the revenues of Tirupati. His request was not granted all the same. Nārāyaṇa Śāstri had, in the meanwhile, only retired to Karakambāḍi, and returned at the head of a considerable force, raised with the assistance of the *Poligārs* of the territory. An English force was sent this time to dislodge him. As on previous occasions the force sent consisted of people other than caste Hindus who alone were allowed to go up the hill. Only 80 out of the total number being thus eligible, a fight took place in which a number of people were killed on both sides, some of them even within the precincts of the temple. Ultimately Nārāyaṇa Śāstri succeeded in driving back the sepoys. A fresh force was again sent presenting the same difficulty as a large number of them were Mussalmans and other classes who could not go up the hill. The English force under Calliaud therefore created a diversion by attacking Karakambāḍi, killing the *Poligār* and burning the village. A subsequent attack on the temple succeeded, and Nārāyaṇa Śāstri retreated with the remnant of his force. A small body of English troops was left there to guard the temple; but these were so badly harassed by the *Poligār's* troops that another raid on Karakambāḍi was undertaken which proved disastrous to the English, and the sepoys returned to Tirupati.

There is a reference to this in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary under date August 14, 1759, and that is about the last reference of any value to Tirupati in his valuable diary.

MUHAMMAD ALI, NAWAB OF THE CARNATIC. Soon after the war in the Carnatic came to a close with the fall of Pondicherry which left Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic beyond question. He gained this position through the assistance of the English entirely who had not merely to do all the fighting, but to pay the expenses as well. To meet the latter, the Madras Government demanded of him 50 lakhs of rupees. As the historian Marshman says "The Carnatic had been without any settled government for twenty years. Every invader had desolated its districts, and the poligars paid no revenue but at the sword's point. The country, was, moreover, now in the hands of a court at once wasteful and neglectful, which had been subsisting for years on loans raised on exorbitant terms at Madras, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed the money and the morals of those who lent it". This gave rise to the question of the notorious Carnatic loans, which does not concern us. In response to this demand by the English, the Nawab requested, the assistance of the English to enforce payment of the subsidies from

his tributaries at Vellore, Tanjore and Madura. Vellore was compelled after a three months' siege to pay a large sum. After long negotiations Tanjore undertook to pay 22 lakhs in four instalments, and an annual tribute of four lakhs. Notwithstanding the payment of these into the Company's treasury to the credit of the Nawab, the Company's Government at Madras found that they had to incur the expenses of protecting this Nawab indefinitely, and, as a way out of this perpetual difficulty, a certain number of districts yielding an annual revenue of about 16 lakhs of rupees were assigned to the Company in October 1763, and a *farman* was obtained from the Emperor at Delhi ratifying this arrangement. The treaty of Paris which brought the war to a close in 1763 recognised Muhammad Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic and Salabat Jung as Subahdar of the Dakhan. But Nizam Ali had already taken possession of the Dakhan since 1761, throwing Salabat Jung into prison. Nizam Ali on hearing of the treaty put Salabat Jung to death and undertook an invasion of the Carnatic. The Nawab called upon the English now to defend him. The two armies came against each other in the plains of Tirupati and were ready for battle. Nizam Ali was in such a strained condition that overnight the whole army beat a hasty retreat

and the danger was over. As a result of this, and, through the good offices of Clive, Muhammad Ali obtained a *farman* from the emperor confirming him as the Nawab of the Carnatic independent of Hyderabad. A *Sanad* was granted accordingly, and along with the *farman* came the titles Wallajah and Anwar-ul-Hind.

CARNATIC WARS OF HYDER ALI AND THE PASSING OF THE NORTHERN PART INTO ENGLISH HANDS. About the same time another person had come into prominence in South India, whose rise to power affected the Carnatic, and incidentally Tirupati also. We have already referred to a note in the Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary that Madame Godehu paid a certain sum of money to Venkaṭa Nāraṇappaiyan, the Vakil from Mysore, in respect of the renting of Tirupati, and that apparently led to nothing. That shows that Mysore maintained an agent of theirs at the court of Arcot or with the French, who attempted to play his own part in regard to the affairs of the Carnatic and Tirupati as well. This person Ven kaṭa Nāraṇappaiyan was the agent of Nanjarāja who, owing to the illness of his brother Dēvarāja, was managing the affairs of Mysore. Under him a military officer Hyder Ali gradually worked his way up to prominence, and was Fouzdar of Dindigul with considerable power and large

revenues at his disposal. As the administration at headquarters degenerated, and Nanjarāja made himself unpopular, Hyder gradually found his way to gain the supreme power, and by quietly setting aside the ruler assumed real power in his own hands. This took place in 1761. The assumption of authority in Mysore by this masterful man brought down the Mahrattas upon him in 1765. This invasion necessitated the Nizam and the English taking sides, and the Carnatic was drawn into the struggle along with the latter. That brought on the war between Hyder and the English, which brought Hyder down upon the Carnatic. In the course of the war, the English committed themselves to assisting the Nizam and even conquered the Carnatic Balaghat from Hyder holding it subject to a tribute being paid to the Nizam and promising to help the Nizam's Government whenever attacked. This brought them into a position of hostility to Hyder, and Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic became more or less regular. The first Mysore War which came to a close in 1769 did not affect Tirupati; but the treaty bringing the war to a close committed the English to the impossible position of assisting Hyder Ali against his enemies as they had already agreed to assist his enemies in previous treaties. A Mahratta invasion brought forward a demand from Hyder Ali for assistance. The

English rendered him no assistance, and, for his breach of faith, he nursed his resentment against them. When war broke out in 1778 between England and France, the English took Pondicherry and projected an attack of the French town of Mahe on the West Coast. Hyder threatened an invasion of the Carnatic in case the English attacked Mahe. The Mahrattas were not pleased with the treatment they received from the English and they joined Hyder. Notwithstanding a warning of this alliance by Muhammad Ali, the English disregarded the warning, and they heard of Hyder already at the pass of Changam in the Carnatic in July 1780. Hyder this time resolved to destroy the English, and drew, according to his plan, a belt of destruction round Madras from Pulicat to Pondicherry. The plan was to destroy all vegetation even, for a belt of about twelve miles between him and the enemy. This was generally done by warning the people to clear out of the locality on pain of their being turned out of their houses and all their belongings being appropriated. This is what is generally known by the term *Hyder Kalābam*. The sight of burning villages visible from St. Thomas Mount woke the English to their position, and they hurried a contingent from the north under Col. Baillie asking him to come to Madras by way of Kāḷahasti and Tirupati which had become

infeasible. So Baillie marched along the road nearer the coast and successfully evaded Hyder's efforts to prevent him from joining the main British force. The war proved unsuccessful at the beginning. Arcot was besieged and places fell rapidly into the hands of Hyder before the British army under old Sir Eyre Coote was in a position to move forward. While the course of the war does not concern us and its story is generally well known, the zamindars round Tirupati, particularly the *Poligārs* of Chittoor and the zamindars of Kārvēṭinagar, Kāḷahasti and Venkaṭagiri were in a difficult position. Most of them joined Hyder but professing friendship to the English, except Venkaṭagiri. The English won a victory at Shōlinghur, which brought the zamindars of Kāḷahasti and Kārvēṭinagar to the English side. This was followed by the siege of Vellore in the course of which Coote advanced as far as Chittoor and took possession of it. As the monsoons were liable to break out violently, there was need of a cessation of hostilities. The English army retired to Madras. During the campaign of these two years, Muhammad Ali was able to render no assistance. His officers made efforts only to betray the English, their allies. Among these happened to be his own brother Abdul Wahab, who was given the government of Chittoor, but who had since

appropriated Chandragiri and was holding the fortress. He handed over the latter fort to Hyder. It was in this state of circumstances that the English were induced to take over the administration of the Carnatic for a period of five years allowing the Nawab a fifth of its total revenues for his maintenance, which, for the time, proved to be beneficial. During all this campaign so near, the English army did not come anywhere near Chandragiri, and Abdul Wahab who had already entered into correspondence with Hyder was allowed to remain there quietly. But, after taking possession of Chittoor, when Hyder marched upon Chandragiri, Abdul Wahab submitted without a struggle, and Hyder transported the whole of Abdul Wahab's family to Seringapatam excepting two young daughters of his whom he retained in his camp breaking his promise to permit their returning to Madras with Abdul Wahab. Thus Chandragiri fell into the possession of Hyder and Tirupati along with it. Hyder's treatment of the holy place, it must be noted in passing, was remarkable, and shines brilliantly in contrast with those of his predecessors. Wilks notes, in the course of his narration of the ignorance of this fortress and the resources of the country about it both in Sir Eyre Coote and in the Madras Government, that "Hydar's more than half-Hindoo propensities had induced

him to grant unqualified indemnity to the sacred temple of Tripaty, only nine miles distant from Chandergherry, to the extent of not even interfering with the payment of a tribute to Mohammad Ali for similar indemnity." Subsequently changes came over, and the whole of the Carnatic was made over to Muhammad Ali by a new treaty in 1785 which proved again unsatisfactory, as Muhammad Ali was hardly in a position to administer his territory satisfactorily, or meet the almost impossible demands of his creditors upon his resources. This brought about a fresh agreement in 1792 by which the collection of the revenue was again made over to the English Company, and, among the conditions, the northern half of Arcot was assigned to the English for shortage of revenue, while Muhammad Ali managed to pay the British demands by raising money therefor by raising loans and assigning the revenues of large portions of the Carnatic to creditors which reduced the administration of the Carnatic to a grinding tyranny. With the outbreak of the war against Mysore in 1799, there was no alternative left but to assume government of the country again. The Court of Directors therefore resolved upon taking over the Carnatic on the terms of the treaty of 1792. But Wellesley was not willing to shoulder the responsibility, and ultimately, with the end of the war, the whole of

the Carnatic was handed over to the English, the new ruler agreeing to be satisfied with a fifth of its estimated revenues for his maintenance. This was in 1801 when the whole of the Carnatic, including the region round Tirupati, passed into the hands of the English.

THE MUHAMMADAN AGGRESSIONS FOLLLOWING TALIKOTA. The further history of Tirupati will have to be Tirupati under the British administration. Before proceeding to that, it would perhaps be well to make a short retrospect of the region round Tirupati, and Tirupati itself in the period of confusion ending in the establishment of British rule. We may well begin this period with the epoch making treaty of Shāh Jahan, which would correspond roughly to the active life of the last Vijayanagar emperor Śrīranga. We have noted that the attempted advance into the south by Muhammadans was stopped by the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the generation following 1336, the traditional date of its foundation, and Vijayanagar more or less successfully held out till the combined forces of the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Dakhan overthrew the forces of the empire in the battle of Rākshasatangaḍi, hitherto called Talikota, in 1565. Except for the temporary occupation of the city of Vijayanagar itself, no general advance of the

Muhammadan forces is recorded as an immediate consequence of the battle. Tirumala, one of the three brothers who took part in the great battle, retired to Penugoṇḍa, and established himself as ruler in succession to the emperors of Vijayanagar, and continued the traditions of that rule with almost undiminished power. It was in his reign that the state of Gōlkoṇḍa attempted an invasion of the south which, in his time, was successfully turned back. Gōlkoṇḍa invasions thereafter did take place as opportunity offered without achieving any success; that is, these invasions were made whenever an opportunity offered itself by the weakness of the Hindu empire. Tirumala's successor, though he suffered defeat and imprisonment even in one of these invasions, managed to recover completely, and his younger brother who succeeded him, Venkaṭa, was much more successful than his brother in keeping back the Muhammadans.

ADVANCE OF THE MUHAMMADAN RULE INTO THE CARNATIC. The real weakness of the Hindu empire however showed itself, not so much after the battle of Talikota, but only after the war of succession which followed the death of Venkaṭa, and which we described fully, in 1614. The internal strife that continued during the years immediately following, and of which we have

much evidence even from foreign sources, invited these invasions from Gōlkoṇḍa This was however deterred effectively by the advance of the Mughal power in the Dakhan and the danger to the existence of the separate Muhammadan kingdoms as independent kingdoms showed itself to be quite real. The destruction of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar however in the reign of the emperor Shah Jahan put matters on a definite footing between the Mughals and the southern Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa. It released these two kingdoms from their preoccupations in the north and set them free, as it were, to pursue a more active policy of aggression in the south. That was the beginning of the new aggression, and dates from 1636 from which date almost Śrīranga, the last of the emperors of Vijayanagar, has had to play an active part in the defence of the empire, though he was not exactly emperor as yet. For the next five or six years, the emperor happened to be Pedda Venkaṭa although Śrīranga had the northern province of the empire facing Gōlkoṇḍa to administer. By the time that the Gōlkoṇḍa forces and those of Bijapur were in a definite position to advance southwards into the territory of Vijayanagar, Śrīranga had really succeeded as ruler, and then began a repetition of the efforts of the Muhammadan powers to conquer the territory

of Vijayanagar, and Śrīranga's efforts as emperor of Vijayanagar to stop them from realising this ambition of theirs. For a whole generation, Śrīranga struggled manfully to keep the enemies out, although gradually he was being pushed back, and the Muhammadan hold on the northern portions of the empire became more permanent. The fall of Gingee to the Muhammadans of Bijapur in 1649 marks a definite stage in the progress of these Muhammadan conquests as about the same time Golkonda extended southwards almost as far as the town of Madras. In the period immediately following the same struggle continued and something like a definite success in the occupation of these localities by the Muhammadans could be postulated for a date, say, some time about 1672. Thereafter the Muhammadan occupation of the territory of Vijayanagar takes a more definite form.

THE CARNATIC UNDER THE MUGHAL EMPIRE The overthrow of the two kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda by Aurangzeb put the conquered provinces of the south directly under the Mughal empire, more particularly the portions in the occupation of Golkonda to begin with, and ultimately of those of Bijapur as well. The dislodgment of Rājarām from Gingee by Zulfikar Khan almost at the end of the century marks the next

stage in the conquest of what was the empire of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans. In the course of the next few years a new province came to be organised from out of these new conquests, and that is symbolised by the foundation of Arcot in the early years of the next century, and this may be dated in 1705 or 1710 according as we date it with the foundation of Arcot, or with the setting up of a regular Muhammadan government. The region round Tirupati gets involved in the history of the Nawabs of Arcot thereafter. The setting up of the rule of the Nawabs of Arcot seems more or less to mark a revolution in the administration of the locality, though brought about more or less peacefully perhaps. This continued under the first Nawabs of Arcot till, as a result of the establishment of the Subah of the Dakhan under Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Nizam moved down into the Carnatic to assert his authority about 1742, and thereafter followed a period of wars which almost continued with short or long intervals down to the end of the century and the fall of Seringapatam, as a direct consequence of which followed the assumption of authority over the territory by the East India Company. But what concerns us here to note is not these political changes merely, which were detailed in the previous pages, but the changes that this brought about in the

administration of the locality, and incidentally of the properties belonging to the temple at Tirupati. We have noted in the previous pages that during the period of early Hindu administration, and, far more, in the period of the later administration under Vijayanagar particularly, the holy shrine at Tirupati was the recipient of benefactions in large numbers and even of great value in very many cases. Through the two and a half centuries practically the shrine at Tirupati acquired vast wealth not only in the shape of money and jewels, but also in the shape of property in lands. Of the latter, there are records of gifts of a number of villages which may come up to a total of twenty, some of which were even outside the limits of the district round Tirupati. But the really substantial portion of these happened to be in the locality round about Tirupati itself, and these are noted in the large number of inscriptions in the temple itself and elsewhere, constituting a comparatively large landed estate for the shrine.

TIRUPATI WAS THE CENTRE OF A SUB-GOVERNMENT UNDER GOLKONDA. We do not hear any details regarding what happened to these, or in fact to the temple itself, in the earlier period of Muhammadan advance into the Carnatic except for an occasional reference here and there that

Mirjumla's riches grew enormously owing to the plunder that he acquired from the temples of the south, which in his case could have meant no other than those in the region known as the Carnatic. We have no specific details as to what was done in respect of this region by him. In the course of these accounts, we find mention of Tirupati often as lying directly on the highway between, say, Madras and the territory of Golkonda and later of Nizam-ul-Mulk. In fact travellers on official missions seem generally to have passed through Tirupati on the way up to Golkonda, the headquarters, or down from there to the south, say, Fort St. George, the headquarters of the East India Company. Mirjumla must have come into the possession of this region some time before the fall of Gingee, or about that date and must have brought it under his own government. But what arrangement he made exactly for the conduct of the government of this, and how it affected the position of Tirupati we have no reference to in our sources of information. From what is stated, we may be certain that he had some kind of an organisation for conducting the government of the locality which included the region of Tirupati. A little subsequently to this, we find the Gōlkoṇḍa ruler, Abdulla-Quṭub Shah, organising a goverment of this region under governors of whom the most

distinguished was Neknam Khan, from whom the English East India Company at Fort St. George received a renewal of the charter granting them the fort and the privileges of trade in it. We have also the information that, under this Neknam Khan, there was some government at Tirupati, and we have already noted an English Agent going to Neknam Khan for the purpose of securing this charter, who in the first instance proceeded to Tirupati, and, after seeing the sub-Governor Chinnapalli Mirza there, was ordered to proceed to Neknam Khan himself at Gōlkoṇḍa. This shows clearly that Tirupati did become the headquarters of a sub-government, and there must have been arrangements corresponding, for the conduct of the administration not only of the dependent territories at greater distances but of all that depended upon Tirupati itself. We have however no information what the kind of organisation actually was. The revenues of Tirupati, however, could not have escaped the Muhammadan conquerers whether it be Mirjumla or his successors. Mirjumla particularly, and those who followed him naturally, were not moved by motives of mere pride in the conquest and extension of territory; much rather it was acquisition of wealth which was their primary concern. This could be said definitely of Mirjumla at any rate. He must therefore have put

the temple at Tirupati under some kind of an arrangement by means of which he could benefit to the maximum extent from the income of the place, consistently with conducting the administration and contributing to the undiminished revenue of the region from time to time.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PERIOD PASSES TO PALAIYAGARS The revenue of the Tirupati temple must, from the information that we have so far collected, obviously have consisted of two large and distinct items. The first, revenue derived from lands which consisted of two kinds, as we have noted already ; a number of whole villages, the revenues of which were granted to the temple, some of which were even outside the limits of the district formed the first ; but the far larger portion really was landed property in the vicinity of the temple and between it and the river Svarṇamukhi which had been brought under cultivation through the application of the necessary resources from the temple treasury to which the pious devotees made specific donations for the purpose, large as well as small. There was a considerably large area of lands therefore which might, in a sense, be said to belong directly to the temple, which played the part of landlord, cultivating the lands by tenants on a footing more or less of permanent occupancy.

The tenants were there to cultivate. The temple provided the funds for creating irrigation facilities, for improving facilities such as already existed, and provided facilities for even bringing hitherto uncultivated lands into cultivation, so that the temple did what the ordinary capitalist landholder is generally expected to do. For all practical purposes therefore Tirupati was as much of a landlord as any individual holder of large acres of land would be. In regard to the collection of the revenue, etc., the temple had its own machinery for its own purposes where it owned villages entirely. In respect of villages which were included in units having its own organization, such as for instance, several villages round Tirucchānūr under the control of the Tirucchānūr *Sabhā* and others like that in the immediate vicinity, there must have been some kind of an arrangement between these *Sabhās* and the temple. The *Sabhās* must in this case, as in the other cases, have made the arrangements for the collection of the revenue as in very much else, and played the part of an intermediary, partially at any rate, so that we may say generally that, so far as the landed properties of the temple went, the temple stood in the position of land owner, and the tenants were cultivating tenants with occupancy rights more or less of a permanent character liable to be disturbed only for default of

a bad character. The intervention of an authority like that of a Muhammadan government brought about a rearrangement which almost unconsciously created a revolution in regard to the matter. In this instance, the Muhammadan government came in not after the place had been reduced to some kind of an anarchy as in the period of the Carnatic wars. In such a case what happened was that the central power under Hindu Governments had become extinct either because of conquest or because of gradual decay. In either case, the central administration ceased to exist and exercise effective authority, and such machinery as this administration had established for the purpose of collecting revenue and doing various other administrative duties for her own conveniences, had to do duty on an independent footing which gave them freedom to alter and amend the time-honoured arrangements to suit their own convenience. That is one kind of a general change that actually came over later. What seems to have happened earlier, was that the arrangements which the governments had instituted for purposes of giving protection to the inhabitants by means of middle men in place of petty officers of government, themselves undertook the duty of collecting the revenue and policing the area originally put in their charge.

They were doing it ordinarily under the control of the government as long as there was a central government. When however for some reason or other, the central government went out of existence. they continued to discharge those duties, but often on their own terms to which the inhabitants had to agree as almost the only alternative open to them. This is how, what are called *Pāḷaiyams* arose. The arrangement come to, in the anarchical period just preceding the establishment of Vijayanagar, is some times called the *Pāḍikkāval* arrangement, and we have a number of documents where villages entered into this kind of an arrangement with a powerful chieftain in the neighbourhood who had the machinery to offer efficient protection. These documents are generally found in number in the State of Pudukkōṭṭai, and in the bordering district round about. When the central government went out of existence definitely, these established themselves in their own position and rendered the service on terms of their own. They came to be called *Poligārs* (*Paḷaiyakkārans*), and the estate which they held *Pāḷaiyams*; and many of those *Pāḷaiyams*, of which we hear of as many as a dozen to twenty in the region round about Tirupati, probably came into existence that way. Another possible arrangement is where there were big zamindars

in the locality who had large estates acquired in various ways by service or otherwise, took the neighbouring villages under their protection, in return for payments in consideration thereof. These would be zamindaris as distinct from the *Pāḷaiyams.* The distinction between the lands constituting the zamin and the villages that had come in otherwise under their protection would gradually diminish, and these would become more or less zamindari villages.

MUHAMMADAN GOVERNMENT CHANGES THE CHARACTER OF LAND HOLDING. When the Muhammadan governments got established, and, having regard to the circumstances in which they actually came into existence, the readiest method for them to adopt would naturally be to deal with these people, Zamindars or *Poligārs* where they existed; where they did not, they could not, and perhaps would not, take the trouble to find out the owners, make surveys and rent registers and so on. They would much rather readily deal with individual middle men, such as *Poligārs* not only for villages included in their estates. but even for the surrounding villages, leaving the relationship between the actual cultivators and these middle men to be settled between themselves. The actual landlords in such cases would be neglected. That is the state of things that is

expounded in the following sentences in the Manual of the North Arcot District by A. F. Cox, the new edition revised by the late Sir Harold Stuart. "The privileges of the village proprietors were first abridged by the Muhammadans. By them the assessments imposed upon the land were greatly increased, and eventually became so high that the *pāyakāris* could not afford to pay their '*swānubhōgam*' to the *mirāśidars*. Those having no power to enforce the payment gradually ceased to demand it. Losing their '*swānubhōgam*' it became no longer worth their while to employ *pāyakāris*, and they accordingly refused to allow these to cultivate, while at the same time they failed to cultivate the lands themselves. The waste lands were, under these circumstances, summarily confiscated by the Government, which granted them to tenants of its own, at first as a temporary measure, but the arrangement in course of time became permanent. The creed of the conquerors was that all land was the exclusive property of the State, and they scouted the idea that the *mirāśidars* enjoyed any rights which the *pāyakāris* did not equally possess. Both were the tenants of the State, and the State was the landlord of all. Most of the distinctive features of the old system were in this manner gradually effaced, and the Collector of the district reported soon after the cession of the Carnatic that the *mirāśi*

system had no existence in North Arcot". It is also noted that the lands held by the Muhammadans and the Brahmans as such were allowed to be enjoyed on their own rights, but it is the class of the *mirāśidars* generally that suffered. It seems as though the temple of Tirupati lost its *mirāśi* rights over these lands in this manner, and ceased to be recognised as owner of land pretty early in the course of this change. It looks as though the shrine of Tirupati lost all its landed estates with the establishment of the Muhammadan power in the locality. Whether it was under Mirjumla, or under the later Gōlkoṇḍa administration, or whether it was adopted under the later Nawabs of Arcot, we are not in a position definitely to state as yet.

TIRUPATI UNDER RENTERS OR AMALDARS SPECIALLY APPOINTED It is on record that Mirjumla amassed vast wealth in the region that he conquered for Gōlkoṇḍa nominally, by appropriating the wealth of temples, as it is set down generally. Tirupati is in the heart of the districts that Mirjumla first of all acquired, and Tirupati was the shrine, whose wealth must have been well-known to people about. It must have come to the notice of Mirjumla; but what actually he did with respect to the temple we do not know. Early in the history of the Nawabship of Arcot,

we find Tirupati already recognised as a shrine with a vast income, and it was put under contribution by having to pay a certain portion of its annual income to the state. This contribution is set down at 60,000 pagodas by Orme, and at 45,000 pagodas and 52,000 rupees in early British records, as we have already noticed. The arrangement made seems to have been, as in the other cases we have detailed above, to hand over the temple to a renter, whose business it was to manage the collection of the revenue and pay what was stipulated to the government, manage the affairs of the temple and make his own profits on what was left. That seems to have been the early arrangement introduced under the Nawab Sadat-Ulla-Khan and his successor, Dost Ali. In the period of confusion of the Carnatic wars under Muhammad Ali, Tirupati did prove to be a source of steady revenue, and was an object of attraction to the various parties that had influence. The English East India Company wanted it badly. The French Company coveted it. The Nawabs perhaps would gladly have had it if they could. We find notes in the Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary where both Madame Dupleix and Madame Godehu tried to rent it out and make large profits by the process. We have noted a number of instances in which the anxiety of the English Company was expressed for the revenues of it;

and they took steps to defend the temple against attacks. We have also noted that the Nawab's subordinates, Nazibulla and Abdul Wahab, were equally drawn to it. The Mahrattas several times attacked the place, and the revenue that could be got out of it was possibly part of the attraction for the one or two unsuccessful attempts at taking possession of the temple by them. It was only Hyder Ali who seems to have been a shining exception when, as Wilks states it, he left the temple entirely to itself with its revenues and payments as they were. That was the condition in which it came into the hands of the British. They continued the old arrangement of appointing an Amaldar from among the Brahmans, perhaps even Vaishṇava Brahmans, as we hear of two appointments one following the other, of a Śrīnivāsāchāri and a Vāsudēvāchāri by the Dewan of the Arcot Nawabs, Dūmalli Krishṇāji Panḍit. The British continued that arrangement and perhaps obtained the rent of 2 to 2½ lacs of rupees a year coming in steadily and regularly. This is nothing improbable seeing that the average annual income of the temple is now about a thousand rupees a day, and it is not impossible that the visitors to the temple and the payments made there, were about as much or more, a little more than a century ago. We are not enabled to give the

details of the administrative arrangements under the English East India Company since 1801, as the information accessible to us does not take us beyond that date.

End of Volume II.

INDEX

A

Abbalaiya, 288, 291

Abdulla Qutub Shah, 471, 472, 474, 487, 542.

Abdul Wahab, 525, 526, 533, 534, 551.

Abul Hasan Qutub Shah, 487.

Achyutarāya (Achyutadēva Mahārāya), 108, 154, 179, 201, 249, 255, 256, 285, 291, 292, 294, 381; succession of, to the throne, 157; and Tirupati, 200-212; inscriptions of the reign of, 213–248.

Achyutarāyābhyudayam, 206, 215.

Achyutarāya Kōnēri, 227, 228.

Aḍapam Baiyappa Nāyaka, son of Timmappa Nāyaka, 130, 232.

Adhyayana-Utsava a festival in December—January, 10

Adil Shah, 193, 251.

Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpasvāmi, founder of the Ahōbala *maṭha*, 172, 173, 174, 177, 179, 180, 305.

Affonso de Sousa, 294, 296, 297, 307.

Ahōbala Jīyars and Tirupati, 172-190, 222.

Ahōbala *maṭha*, founded by Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpasvāmi 172, 305, 439.

Ahōbala Maṭha Guru Parampara, 174.

Ahōbala Rāja, father of Kampayyadēva Mahārāja, 2.

Aix-la Chapple, treaty of, 505.

Ākāśarāja, 260.

Akkanna, 488, 493.

Aḷagar Ayyangar, 326.

Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, 2, 39, 164, 223, 230, 242.

Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷa *maṭham*, 258.

Alarmēlmangai, (the lady of the flower) a name of the Goddess in the hill shrine, 49.

Āḷavandār, activities of, 140, 394.

Alipuram, a village granted to the temple at Tirupati, 2, 13.

Allasāni Peddana, 155.

Allibhīma, a title of Eṟṟamarāju, 3.

Āḷvārs the, and Tirupati, 408–412.

Amātyaśēkhara Mallaṇa, 118.

Āmuktamālyada, a work of Krishṇadēvarāya, 147.

Āmbur, battle of, 507, 515, 516.

Amṛta Rao, 526.

Anandān Piḷḷai, a pavilion, 56.

Ananda Ranga Pillai, Diary of, 512–16, 525–26, 530, 551.

Angaṇa Tiruvīdhi, 211.

Annamāchārya, 238.

Annamaiyangar, father of Tallapākkam Tirumalai Aiyangar, 215.

Aṇṇangarāchāryar, 326.

Annapūrṇādēvi, a queen of Krishṇadēvarāya, 107.

Antembaragaṇḍa, a title of Vallabhayyadēva Mahārāja, 11.

Anwar-ud-din, 503, 504, 506, 507.

Anwarul Hind, 530.

Appāji, same as Sāḷuva Timma, 146.

Appā Piḷḷai, an officer of Krishṇadēvarāya, 120, 121, 122; provision of, for food services in the temple, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 153.

Appa Piḷḷai *Maṇṭapa*, 122.

Appaya Dīkshita, 153.

Appayyan, 208.

Aruṇagirinātha, author of the *Tiruppugaḷ*, 160, 161, 163.

Asaf Jah, 499.

Ashṭadiggajas, of Krishṇadēvarāya's Court,, 156.

Ashṭa Mahishī Kalyāṇam, a Telugu work of Tiruvēngaḍanāthan, 275.

Astigiri Ayyan, a Superintendent, 30.

Aurangzeb, 471, 472, 476, 495, 497, 539.

Avasaram Chennappa, 318.

Ayyā Ayyan, father of Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, 317.

Ayyappa Nāyaka, (Ayyappa) see Dāmarla Ayya, 354, 372, 449, 455.

B

Baicharāja, father of Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, 17, 18, 33.

Baillie, Col., 532.

Baiyappa Nāyaka Krishṇappa Nāyaka, 278.

Baji Rao, 500.

Balaji Rao, 521.

Balavant Rao, 526.

Bhāshayakāra (Rāmānuja), 316–17.

Bhaṭṭarpirān Jīyar, 56.

Bhūtala Vīra Rāma Varma, 300.

Birudantembaragaṇḍa (*Antembaragaṇḍa*), champion of those claiming titles, 11.

Brahmatantrasvāmi, 187, 188.

Brahmatantra Svatantrasvāmi, a disciple of Vēdānta Dēśika, 171.

Bukka I, 381.

Bukkarāja, (Āraviṭi) father of Rāmarāja, 263, 267, 272, 286, 305.

Bukkarāja Tirumalaidēva Mahārāja, 278.

Bukka Rāya 283 ; food services in the name of, 36-37.

Bukkarāyan Śandi, 73.

Bulol Khan, 466, 476, 477.

C

Calliaud, English general, 527.

Carnatic, the, transfer of, to Gōlkoṇḍa, 485-505.

Carnatic, wars in the, 506–552.

Chāḷukya Nāryāṇan Marakkāl, a measure, 38.

Chāmarājēndra Oḍayār, 386.

Chanda Saheb, 501, 506, 507, 508, 509.

Chandragirirājya, 5, 6, 9, 10, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 38, 67.

Chengam, Pass of, 467.

Chidambaram, guilding of the *Vimāna* at, by Jaṭārvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 118.

Chikka Dēvarāja Oḍayār, 383, 384, 480.

Chikka Krishṇarāja Oḍayār, 384.

Chikkarāya, 441.

Chikkrāya (Ranga), 310, 311, 342.

Chikka Tangaman, a son of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 30 ; a service in the name of, 12.

Chikka Venkaṭādri, Prince, 221.

Chingli Khan, 497.

Chinna Bommu Nāyaka, 353.

Chinnādēvi, queen of Krishṇadēvarāya, 107, 109, 110, 112, 114, 116, 152.

Chinnaṇṇa Chetty, 463.

Chinnapaḷḷi Mirza, lieutenant of Neknam Khan, 371, 373, 493, 543.

Chinna Timma, 299.

Chinna Timmarāja, 324.

Chinna Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, 271–72.

Chinna Tirumalai Aiyangar, 237.

Chinna Venkaṭādri, (Venkaṭa), 249, 250, 256, 444.

Chiragirirāja, 324.

Chitrakūṭa *Maṇṭapa*, 57.

Chokkanātha Nāyaka, 479.

Chōḷas, obscurity of the Vaishṇava temples during the time of the, 141–142.

Clive, 530.

Correa, 297, 298.

D

Dāmarla Ayya, (Ayyappa), 312, 354, 459, 479.

Dāmarla Venkaṭa, 312, 327, 352, 353, 354, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 449, 454, 455, 456, 459, 460, 462.

Dantivarman, 414.

Dānyavarga, revenues paid in kind, 2.

Daud Khan, 496, 498.

Dēvarāja Oḍayār, 522, 530.

Dēvarāya Mahārāya II, 77, 283, 305, 381, 399.

Dharmarāya, same as Immaḍi Narasimharāya, 90.

Dhonakaṇḍi Singamunāyakar, of Vaḍarājya, 12–13.

Divyasūricharitam, 422.

Doḍḍa Dēvarāja Oḍayār, 382, 479.

Doḍḍa Krishṇarāja Oḍayār, 383, 385.

Doḍḍayāchārya, 188.

Dōlōtsava, swing festival, instituted by Sāḷuva Narasimha, 11.

Dost Ali, 497, 500, 501, 506, 551.

Dūmalli Krishṇāji Pandit, Dewan of Sadat-ulla Khan, 513–14, 517, 552.

Dupleix, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 519, 520, 522.

Dvādaśalingastōtram, 423.

E

Ēchama Nāyaka, see Yāchama Nāyaka, 346.

Ēkōji, the Mahratta, 479, 488.

Ellappa Nāyaka, an ūḍiyam or ūḷiyam, 126.

Ēḷumalai, Tirupati, 161.

Emberumānār, same as Rāmānuja, 48.

Emberumānār Jīyar, a superintendent of the temple, 44, 46, 57-58.

Eṟṟamarāja, son of Timma Rāja, 3.

Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, a grandson of Tōḷappāchārya, 317.

Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tāta Aiyangār, 277.

European Companies, coming of the, to the East Coast, 445-448.

Eyre Coote, Sir, 533, 534.

F

Fariya ye Sousa, 294.

Farruksiyar, 498.

Fort St. George, Madras, 364-66.

Francis Xavier, 298, 299, 300.

G

Gajapatis and Krishṇadēvarāya, 106–108, 113–114, 115–116.

Gñānappirān, (Śrī Varāha) shrine of, 48.

Gobbūri Jaggarāja, 311, 338, 340, 341, 346, 441.

Gōlkoṇḍa invasions, and the Vijayanagar empire 335-373, 450-52; and the Carnatic, 485-505.

Gōpaṇārya, governor of Gingi, 170; and Vēdānta Dēśika, 186.

Gōvinda Pushkaraṇi, same as Krishṇarāya Kōnēri, 139.

Guṇḍamarāja Vallabharāya, father of Tammayyadēva Mahārāja, 9.

Guruparamparās, 164, 169, 179, 182, 184, 185, 186, 422; on Vaṇ Śaṭakōpa Jīyar, 76 ff

H

Hanumān, shrine of, 55; construction of, 90.

Harihara II, 76, 189.

Hathiramji muṭṭ, 333.
Hātimalla, a title of Eṟṟamarāja, 3.
Hosabirudara Gaṇḍa, a title of Guṇḍamarāja Vallabharāya, 9.
Hoysāla Narasimha II, 377.
Hussain Ali, 498, 499.
Hyder Ali 552; and the Carnatic wars, 530-536.
Hyder Kalābam, 532.

I

Ibrahim Adil Shah, 253, 254.
Ibrahim Qutub Shah, invasion of Vijayanagar by, 176.
Iḷamkōvil, a name of Tirupati, 328;
Immaḍi Narasimha, (Narasingarāya) 22, 63, 71, 82, 83, 90, 93, 97, 98; rule of 90-92; and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, 74-75.
Iterāja, see Gobbūri Yatirāja, 343, 346.
Itihāsamāla, 71, 72.
Iyal, 261.
Iyarpā, 261.

J

Jagadēvarāyals of Chennapatna, 457.
Jaggarāya, 441, 442, 443.
Jaṭāvārman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 283, 377; plating of the *Vimāna* by, 118.
Jesuit testimony, to Śrīranga's achievements, 480-484.
Jīyar Rāmanuja Aiyan (Pāsinḍi Vēngaḍatturaivār), 54.

K

Kākatīyas, establishment of the kingdom of the, 14.
Kachchipēḍu, Nāgama Nāyaka, Governor of, 16.
Kaḍamai, Government dues from land, 13.
Kāḍavan Perundēvi, queen of Sundara Pāṇḍya, 282-3.
Kalinga wars of Krishṇadēvarāya, 151.
Kallūr Pass, 502.
Kāmarasappa, 291.
Kampayya Dēva Mahārāja, an officer under Sāḷuva Narasimha, 2-3.
Kandāḍai Appā, 235.
Kandāḍai Appāchchiyār Aṇṇa, 49, 66.
Kandāḍai Bhāvanāchārya, 267.
Kandāḍai Mādhava Aiyangar, 215.
Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyan, (Aiyangar) 39, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 71, 131, 149-50, 197, 214, 215, 402.
Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, disciple of Aḷahiya Maṇavāḷa Jīyar, superintendent of the free feeding homes, 2, 8, 10, 12, 13, 29, 30, 164; and Immaḍi Narasimha, 74, 75.
Kandāḍai Tirumalai Aiyangar, 270.
Kandāḍai Tiruvēngaḍam Uḍaiyār, 242.
Kānkāna Sāhebulavāru (Khan-i-Khanan Saheb), 469.
Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja, Oḍayār, 382, 465, 467, 470.
Karaṇakka Annadāta Dēvagaḷ, 20.
Karaṇikka Basavarasa Aiyan, an officer of Krishṇadēvarāya, son of Chaṇḍikai Ōbaladēva, 126, 138, 221.
Karaṇikkam Kāmarasa, 288.
Kāśaiya Nāyaka, brother of Narasimhadēva, 14.
Kaśakkāl, percolation channel, 9.
Kauśikapurāṇam, 265, 318.
Kavitārkika Kēsari, a title of Vēdānta Dēśika, 237.
Ketayya Daṇṇāyaka, 379.
Khusru, Muhammadan invasions under, 166.
Kōḍai, summer crop, 13.

Kōdaṇḍarāma, 480.

Kommarāja Uḍaiyār, father of Śiru Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, and Periya Timmarāja, 16.

Kommarāju Periya Timmarāju, 19, 20, 21, 22.

Kommarās(j)u, 18, 20, 33.

Kōṇappayyan, son of a Trimmarasu, 289.

Koṇḍarāju Venkaṭarāju, 176, 337.

Koṇḍarāju, son of Timmarāju Kōnēṭi Ayyan, 281, 283, 284, 285, 287.

Kōnēṭi Ayyan, son of Rāmarāja, 281, 283, 284, 285.

Kōnētirāja, son of Āravīti Rāmarāja, 281-82.

Kōnēri Rāja, a divisional officer in the Chōḷa-maṇḍala, 58.

Kōṭikanyakādānam Tātāchāryār, guilding of the Tirupati temple by, 118.

Kōil, a name for Śrīrangam, 140.

Kōvil-Oḷugu, 183, 184.

Krishṇadēvarāya, (Krishṇa) 82, 90, 93, 95, 172, 180, 181, 188, 193, 194, 196, 198, 203, 204-05, 213, 215, 217, 224, 225, 226, 229, 255, 261, 283, 292, 294, 306, 381, 387; accession of, to the throne, 99-103; main events of the reign of, 104-108; war of, against the Gajapatis, 106–108, 113–114, 115–116; visits of, to Tirupati, 108–115; guilding of, the Tirupati temple by, 118; and Vyāsarāya, 135ff; Character of the services of, to the Tirupati temple, 145-157; benefactions of, to the Tirupati temple, 150–157; statue of, at Tirupati with his queens, 152; benefactions to literature and religion by, 155–57; end of the reign of, 154–55.

Krishṇāji Amman, a queen of Venkaṭapati, 320.

Krishṇarāja Oḍayār III, 385, 388.

Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Madura, 302.

Krishṇarāya Vijayamu, 110.

Krishṇasvāmi temple, construction of, 156.

Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār, construction of a temple for, 40; shrine of, 62, 63.

Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ, provision for the daily worship of, 50.

Kuli Beg, 475 493.

Kulōṭṭunga I, 415.

Kulōṭṭunga III, 397.

Kumāra, Subrahmaṇya, 409, 410, 416.

Kumāra Chikka Venkaṭādri, 207.

Kumāradhārikā, a waterfall, 162.

Kumāra Kampaṇa, 118, 167, 170, 381, 397, 398.

Kumāra Kulaśēkhara Mēdini Rao Timmanāyaka, 59.

Kumāra Narasaiyan, a son of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 30, 53–54; a service in the name of, 12.

Kumāra Rāmānuja Ayyan, 72, 88, 128; a flower garden in the name of, 48.

Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyangar, 214, 215.

Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, son of Śoṭṭai Tiruveṅgaḍa Tāta Aiyangār, 13-14, 266, 290.

Kumāra Venkaṭa, son of Achyuta, 205, 211, 212.

Kumāra Venkaṭapatirāya Mahārāya, 325.

Kūrattāḷvār a contemporary of Rāmānuja, 40.

Kuvalaguṇṭa Muttam Tirumalarāja, father of Timmayyadēva Chōḷa Mahārāja, 7.

L

Lakkarasa, son of Venkāpuram Rāyasam Hariyappa, 281.

Lakshmīdēvi *mahōtsava*, 206–207.

Lally, 525.

Lingama Nāyaka, 353, 360, 459.
Lingaṇṇa, 490, 494.

M

Madame Dupleix, 551.
Madame Godehu, 522, 530, 551.
Madānanda Pandit, 522.
Madanna, 488.
Mādhava Aiyangar, a disciple of Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, 131.
Madras, foundation of, 458–460.
Mahāchārya, same as Doḍḍayāchārya, 182.
Mahe, 532.
Mahisura Narapati Vijayam, 257.
Mahrattas, the, and Tirupati, 525–528.
Makamai, a tax, 64.
Malaikkiniyaniṅṟān, a flower garden 47, 89, 234–35 and f.n.
Malakappa Nāyuḍu, 176.
Malik Kafur, Muslim invasions under, 166.
Mallaiyadēva, Mahārāja, a member of the Sāḷuva family, 32, 290.
Mallayya (see Chinnaṇṇa Chetty), 463, 466.
Mallayyadēva, son of Sāḷuva Gōpayya, 11, 15.
Mallikārjuna, 34–35, 73, 75, 158, 161.
Māmūlar, 411.
Maṇimēkhalai, 412.
Mantriṅdra (Chief Minister), 122.
Manumabōli Kamparāja, father of Peṇḍlikoḍuku Timmarāja, 278, 285.
Māru Rāzu Rāma Rāzu, 275.
Matla Kumāra Ananta, 329, 331, 337, 390.
Maṭla Pōttarāzu, 261.
Maṭla Sōmarāzu, 261.
Maṭla Tiruvēngaḷanātha, 331.
Maṭla Varadarāja, son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya, 261.
Mēlkōṭṭai Tirunārāyaṇapuram, 77.
Mir Asad, 502.
Mirjumla, 463, 464, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 478, 484, 491, 492, 493, 542 543, 550.
Mons. Godehu, 510, 520.
Morari Rao, 521.
Mubarak, 166.
Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, 503, 506–11, 517, 518, 520, 521, 522, 528–30, 535, 551.
Muhammadan penetration into the 'Carnatic', 436 ff.
Muhammad Kamal, 517, 518, 519, 520, 522, 525,
Muhammad Tughlak, and South India, 166-67, 182 ff.
Mukhappālam Nāgama Nāyaka, same as Nāgama Nāyaka, 16.
Mukundadēva, 176, 177.
Muḻangāl-Muṟippān (Knee breaker), 8.
Murtaz (Murtiza) Ali, 502, 503, 509, 510, 511, 520.
Musa Khan, 478, 493.
Mutiyāl Nāyak, 512.
Muzafar Jung, 507, 508, 509.
Mysore and Tirupati, 374-390.

N

Nādamuni, the first Āchārya, 14, 394; activities of, 140; deification of, 246-47.
Nādiṇḍla Appa, 208.
Nāgalādēvi, wife of Narasā Nāyaka, 101.
Nāgama, mother of Krishṇadēvaraya, 111.
Nāgama Nāyaka, an officer of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 25, 33, 154, 204; and Tirupati, 16.
Nālāyira Prabandha, 141.

Nammāḷvār, 230, 264, 411, 425; Temple of, 125, 134; festival of, 48.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla, 393, 414-15.

Nandiyāla Narasingarāja, 281.

Nanjarāja Oḍayār, 522, 530, 531, 532.

Nārapparāja, (Āravīṭi) (son of Nandiyāla Narasingarāja, 276, 281.

Narasā Nāyaka (Narasā) 91, 92, 97, 98, 101, 111, 193, 200, 204, 207, 238.

Narasarāja Uḍaiyār, son of Kommarāja Timmarāja, 22, 34.

Narasarāya Nāyakar *maṇṭapam*, 132.

Narasimhadēva, son of Rāvu Pinnaṇṇa Rāja, 13.

Narasimharāya Mahārāya, 50, 51, 135.

Narasimha I, 101.

Narasimha III, 378, 379.

Narasimha Prabhu, 13.

Narasinga Rao, 521.

Narasingarāya Mahārāya, father of Immaḍi Narasingarāya Mahārāya, 22.

Narasingarāyan Kōnēri, a tank, 12.

Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, disciple of Ādi Vaṇ Śaṭakōpasvāmi, 172, 245.

Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, 526-27.

Nāridiṇḍla Timma Rāja, 121.

Nāvalūru *Maṇṭapa*, 66.

Nāyaka-Taḷigai, 82.

Nayinārāchārya, 172, 187, 188.

Nazibulla, brother of Muhammad Ali, 518, 522-23, 551.

Nazir Jung, 507, 508, 512.

Neknam Khan, 371, 372, 478, 487, 493, 513, 543.

Nizam Ali, 529.

Nizam-ul-mulk, 499, 507, 540, 542.

Nṛsimharāya Uḍaiyār, built the Raghunātha temple, 33.

Nṛsimharāya Uḍaiyār Mudaliyār, a chief, 15.

Nṛsimhasvāmi shrine, establishment of the, by Sāḷuva Narasimha, 15.

Nuno da Cunha, 296.

O

Ōbaḷarāja, 324.

P

Paḍaivīḍu, 136.

Paḍaivīḍu Rājya, 7, 9, 12, 29, 30, 33, 66.

Pāḍi Kāval Gōpuram, 111.

Pāḍivēṭṭai, a festival, 18.

Panam Pāranār, 412.

Paṇḍāravāḍai, a tenure, 132.

Pankayacchelvi, a *maṭha*, 21.

Pankayacchelvi, a garden, 137, 138 222.

Pāpu Timmarāja, 287.

Pāpu Timmaiya Mahārāja, son of Rāmarāja Vittala, 279.

Parānkuśa Jīyar, 222, 245.

Paripāḍal, 141.

Parvatarāja, a prince of the Sāḷuva family, 33, 71.

Pavitrōtsavam, purification ceremony, 5-6.

Periya Narasamma, queen of Kommarāju Periya Timmarāju, 19.

Pedda Venkaṭa, 444, 457; the Vijayanagar empire under, 452.

Perumāḷa Daṇṇāyaka, 379.

Peṇḍli-koḍuku Timmarāja, 278, 285.

Pēraruḷāḷan Appai, 188.

Periya Āḻvār, 230; temple of, 136.

Periya Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, brother of Sāḷuva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, 5.

Periya Narasāmbā, wife of Periya Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, 56.

Periya Ōbalanāyaka, father of Rāmanāyakar, 82, 123.

Periya Perumāl Dāsar, a disciple of Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar, 49.

Periya Perumāḷ Jīyar, 49, 332.

Periya Tangaman, a son of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 30; a service in the name of, 12.

Periya Timmarāja, son of Kommarāja Uḍaiyār, 16, 56, 57.

Periya Tirumalai Jīyar, 319.

Perumāḷ Kōil, a name for Conjivaram, 140,

Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya, 185.

Piḷḷai Tiruppani Bhandāram, office of the works, 63, 136-37.

Piḷḷān, successor of Rāmānuja, 165.

Pin-šeṅṛa-Villi, Lakṣhmaṇa, 49.

Poligars, 547-48.

Ponvari, a tax, 13.

Poṭlapāṭi Rāmarāya Chinna Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, 279, 280.

Poṭlapāṭi Rangarāzu, 276.

Poṭlapāṭi Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, 275.

Poṭlapāṭi Timmarājayyan, 269, 272, 279.

Poṭḷappa Nāyaka, father of Sūrappa Nāyaka, 282.

Poṭlapāṭi Timmarāja, 264.

Portuguese and Vijayanagar, 105-06; and Tirupati, 294-298.

Pradhāni Sōmarasa Ayyan, 239.

Pratāparudra, Gajapati, 116.

Pratāpa Rudra II, 100.

Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṇṇan, 125, 188, 239, 240, 326.

Prauḍadēvarāya, a title of Dēvarāya II, his brother and Mallikārjuna, 161.

Private individuals and the Tirupati temple, 35-67.

Purushōttama Gajapati, 100.

Q

Quṭub Shah, 484.

R

Rāmānuja, 40, 52, 56, 65, 67, 71, 72, 88, 142, 162, 164, 165, 171, 173, 176, 182, 185, 189, 190, 195, 198, 201, 230, 394, 395, 396, 408, 410, 413, 416, 417, 418, 419, 422, 429; activities of, 140-42; and Tirupati, 14; festival of, 45, 48; organisation of worship by, at Tirupati, 158, 160.

Rāmānuja (Rāmānujaputtēri) a tank, 126.

Rāmānuja, a pavilion, 65.

Rāmānuja, centum of, 51.

Rāmānujaiyan, a pavilion, 48.

Rāmānuja Jīyar, Superintendent of the temple, 21, 258.

Rācharasu, 229.

Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, 311, 443.

Raghunātha temple, constructed by Kāśaiya Nāyaka, 14.

Rāja Chandra Sen, 512.

Rāja Kuli, 493.

Rāja Kuli Khan, 478.

Rājanātha, author of the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, 206.

Rājā Nimbuli Siyudosi, 512.

Rājarāja, grant of, to the Tirupati temple, 393.

Rājarāja, I, 415.

Rājarāja III, 397.

Rājāram, 495, 539.

Rāja Saheb, 509, 516, 517.

Rākshasatangaḍi, battle of, 308, 310, 437, 536.

Rāma, 339, 341, 342, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445; one of the sons of Chikkarāya, 311.

Rāma, son of Tirumala, 309; succeeded by Venkaṭa, 349, 352, 354.

Rāmachandra, a flower garden, 48.

Rāmachandra Dīkshitar, Rāyasam, 208, 218, 223, 227.

Rāmadēva Mahāraya, Tirupati during the period of, 325-26.

Rāmanātha (Hoysāla), 378.

Rāma Nāyaka, son of Periya Ōbala Nāyakar, 123, 124, 153.

Rāmanāyaka, the Mahānayangar of the empire, 82.

Rāmappaiyan, 262-63.

Rāmarāja, (Rāmarāya) Aḷiya, (Āravīṭi), 201-03, 251, 255, 256, 257, 261–63, 267, 268-69, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 327, 347, 437, 438; son-in-law of Krishṇarāya, 305, 308.

Rāmarāja II, 348.

Rāmarāja Chinna Timmarāja, 283.

Rāmarāzu Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, Āravīṭi, 279.

Rāmarāja Konēṭi Ayyan, 284, 285.

Rāmarāja Viṭṭala, 279; southern invasion of, 298–303.

Rāmarājayyan, 278.

Rāmarājīyamu, 480.

Rāma Rāzu (see Māru Rāzu Rāmarāzu), 276.

Rāmarāzu Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja Āravīṭi, 279.

Rāmarāzu Viṭṭala, 268.

Ranga, son of Rāma, 200, 310, 325, 420, 444.

Rangā Dīkshitar, 112, 124, 152.

Ranganātha Dīkshita, father of Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshita, 133.

Rāvu Pinnaṇṇa Rāja, a subordinate of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 13.

Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, son of Timmarasa, 129, 241.

Rāyasam Venkaṭādri Aiyan, 282, 289.

Roe, Sir Thomas, 339.

S

Sadāśivarāya, 175, 180, 249–92.

Sadāśiva, succession of, to Vijayanagar, 249–57.

Sadāśivarāya, inscriptions of the reign of, 257–291.

Sadāśiva, Tirupati under, 292, 314.

Sadāśiva, inscriptions of the successors of, 315–334.

Sadat-ulla-Khan, 496, 497, 498, 500, 513, 551.

Safdar Ali, 502, 503, 506.

Safdar Jung, 504.

Sahu, 499, 506.

Śaivism, under the Chōḷas, 141–42.

Salabat Jung, 521, 529.

Salakam Timmarāju, 206, 250, 251.

Salakam Tirumala, 250.

Salakarāju, 229.

Salakarāju Śiru Tirumalarāju, 211, 243, 256, 268.

Salakayyadēva Mahārāja, 242.

Sāḷuva benefactions to Tirupati and their character, 67-71.

Sāḷuva Gōpayya, son of Mallayyadēva, 11.

Sāḷuva Gōvindarāja, brother of Timmarasa, 133, 153, 224, 225, 241.

Sāḷuva Guṇḍa, 381, 398.

Sāḷuva Guṇḍayyadēva Mahārāja, father of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 2, 4.

Sāḷuva Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, brother of Periya Mallaiyadēva Mahārāja, 5; father of Rāmachandra Rāja, 7, 290.

Sāḷuva Mangidēva, guilding of the Tirupati temple by, 118.

Sāḷuva Narasa, 118.

Sāḷuva Narasimha, 38, 39, 43, 49, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 81, 93, 96, 100, 105, 180, 181, 193, 195, 290, 315, 402, 431; and Kandāḍai Rāmānuja Aiyangar, 150: grants of, 23, 25, 26, 28-32; grants of the officials of, to the temple, 32-35; testament of, 103; and Tirupati, 1. ff; death of, 91.

Sāḷuva Narasimhadēva Mahārāya, Dancing Hall of, 37.

Sāḷuva Nāyaka, 154, 204, 268.

Sāḷuva Parvata Rāja, son of Sāḷuva Rāja, 7.

Sāḷuva Rāja, a cousin of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 7.

Sāḷuva Timma (Aiyangar), 99, 208, 225, 229, 241; and Krishṇadēvarāya's accession, 146-47; *Pradhāni* of Krishṇadēvarāya, 121.

Sāḷuva Timmā Nāyaka, same as Sāḷuva Nāyaka, 154.

Sāḷuva Timmarāja, son of Sāḷuva Mallayyadēva, 15.

Sāḷuva Timma Rājadēva Mahārāja Uḍaiyār, elder brother of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 4, 5.

Sāḷuva Timmarasa, 121, 133, 229; patronage of, Tirupati, 143–48, 399; Vaishṇava dominance during the days of the, 157–58.

Śambuvarāyans, the, and Krishṇadēvarāya, 102, 104.

Sandyāvandana maṇṭapam, 209.

Śankarāchārya, reference by, to Tirupati, 423.

Sarasvati Manō Bhaṇḍāra, a title, 21.

Saṭagōpadāsa Narasimharāya Mudaliyar, 46, 47.

Śaṭakōpa Jīyar of Ahōbalam, 245, 246, 305.

Sāṭṭaiyappa Nāyaka, 221.

Sayyad Muzafar, 496.

Śēshādrisṛnga, 423.

Shāh Jahān, 313, 314, 361, 371, 486, 492, 536, 538; Bijapur and Gōlkoṇḍa, set free for aggression, by the treaty of, 450–52, 454.

Shahji, 451, 467, 468, 476, 477.

Shashṭa Parānkuśa, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180.

Shivaji, 314, 451, 487, 488, 493.

Shuda Rāṇūji Pantulu, 332.

Siddhaṇaiyar, the Secretary of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 43.

Śilappadikāram, 141; evidence of, on the character of Tirupati, 412–14, 426.

Simhādri Poṭṭunūru, 116.

Śingayya Daṇṇāyaka, 379.

Singarāja, 229.

Śiru Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, son of Kommarāja Uḍaiyār and elder brother of Periya Timmarāja, 16.

Śiṛu Timmayya, 221.

Śivarāja Rāmachandra Yēta Mata Rao Dabīr, Sā, 328.

Sōmanāthakavi, author of the *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, 81.

Śoṭṭai Tiruvēngaḍa Tāta Aiyangar, father of Kumāra Tāta Aiyangar, 13-14.

Śrī Bhāshya, 226.

Śrī Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, 173, 174 175, 178, 180.

Śrīnivāsa Aiyangar, Āchārya-purusha, 277, 290.

Śrīnivāsāchārya, author of the *Vaibhava Prakāśika*, 130.

Śrīnivāsa Mahātīrtha, 333.

Śrīnivāsa Sahasranāma, 205.

Śrī Parānkuśa, same as Shashṭa Parānkuśa, 176.

Śrīpati Ōbaḷa Rāja, 275.

Śrīranga, 444, 448, 449, 485, 486, 493, 536, 538, 539.

Śrī Ranga (Rāya), son of Tirumala 175, 176, 177, 180, 210, 309, 316, 318, 319, 439.

Śrīranga IV, 312–14, 327, 329, 331, 335, 336, 337, 354, 355, 360, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 455, 456, 458, 461-84

Śrīrangam, plating of the temple by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 118.

Śrī Rangāmbā, wife of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 8, 29.

Śrī Ranga Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Vengaḷu Nāyaka, 212, 227.

Śrī Rangarāja, father of Rāmarāja, 263, 284, 286, 290.

Śrīrangarāya gadyāṇa, 332-33.

Śrīśailaśṛnga, 423.

Śrī Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla, 162.

Śrī Vīra Rāma Mārthāṇḍavarman, 300.

Streynsham Master, head of the company at Madras, 490.

Śūraikkāra, a title, 21.

Sūrappa Nāyaka, son of Poṭlappa Nāyaka, 282.

Svarṇādāyam, dues in money, 2.

Svaramēḷa Kalānidhi, 263.

Swānubhōgam, 549.

T

Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar, 216, 217, 218, 222, 229, 231, 233, 234, 237, 264, 266, 273, 274, 283, 285, 288, 304.

Tammayyadēva Mahārāja, son of Guṇḍamarāja Vallabharāya, 9.

Tammu Nāyaka, 316.

Tarafdar, (Governor), 449, 490, 494.

Tenkalai, origin of the, 167.

Tēvāram, absence of reference in, to Tirupati, 414-15.

Tillappa Nāyaka, 316.

Timmaiyadēva Mahārāja, son of Baicharāja, 17.

Timmaṇa Daṇāyaka, son of Karaṇakka Annadāta Dēvagaḷ, 20.

Timmappa Nāyaka, father of Aḍapam Baiyappa, 130, 319.

Timma Rāja father of Eṛṛamarāja, 3.

Timmarāju Kōnēṭi Ayyan, 287.

Timmarāja Salakarāja, 219.

Timmarāja Uḍaiyār, elder brother of Sāḷuva Narasimha, 32.

Timmarājayya of the Auk family, 269.

Timmarasa, son of Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, 129.

Timmarasa, Daḷavāy of Achyutarāya, 238-39.

Timmarasaiyar, father of Koṇḍamarasayyar, 241.

Timmarāzu, Āraviṭi, 276.

Timmarāzu Vittalarāzu, 268.

Timmayyadēva Chōḷa Mahārāja, son of Kuvalaguṇṭa Muttam Tirumalarāja, 7.

Tirukkoḍi Tirunāḷ, 208.

Tirukkōnēri, 234.

Tirumala, Prince, son of Krishṇadēvarāya, 199, 201, 202.

Tirumala, 305, 308, 309. 329, 335, 336, 438, 439.

Tirumala, brother of Rāmarāja, 255, 256, 305, 425.

Tirumalādēvi, queen of Krishṇadēvarāya, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 152.

Tirumalai, same as Tirupati, 140.

Tirumalai Ayyan, 290.

Tirumalai Jōsyar, 232, 238.

Tirumalai Nambi, father of Kumāra Rāmānuja Aiyan, 88, 277.

Tirumalai Nāyaka, an officer under Krishṇadēvarāya, 123, 481, 482.

Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, 113, 482.

Tirumalarāja, brother of Rāmarāja, 315.

Tirumala Sōmayāji, 281.

Tirumālirumśōlai, a Vaishṇava centre, 140–41, 426.

Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār, 424.

Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār *maṇṭapa*, 34.

Tirumaliśaippirān, a maṇṭapa, 20, 34, 57.

Tirumal Nāyak, 467–68, 470.

Tirumangai Āḻvār, shrine of, 45–46, 62, 230, 411, 425.

Tirupati, Vaishṇava character of, under Vijayanagar, 140 ff; association of the Vaishṇava Āchāryas with, 164 ff; and later Vaishṇava Āchāryas, 169–190; and Vyāsarāyasvāmi, 191–199; during Achyutarāya's reign, 200–212; in Sadāśiva's reign, 292–314; in Śrīranga's wars with Gōlkoṇḍa, 367, 372–73; and Mysore, 374–390; under Hindu rule, 391–408; character and organisation of the shrine at, 408–435; the centre of a sub-government under Gōlkoṇḍa, 541–44.

Tiruppaḷḷi Eḻucchi, a part of the *Prabandha*, 51.

Tiruppugaḻ, 160, 161, 162, 163, 414, 415.

Tiruvadhyayana, a festival, 51, 65.

Tiruvāḻi Āḻvān, (Vishṇu's discus), 87.

Tiruvāymoḻi Tirumalai Nāyanār, 222.

Tiruvēngaḍaiyan, son of Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar, 285.

Tiruvēngaḍa Māhātmya, 55, 264, 266, 269.

Tiruvēngaḍamāmalai, 162.

Tiruvēngaḍanāthan of Tallapākkam, 274, 275.

Tiruvēnkaṭa Chirukkan Tirupaṇi Piḷḷai Emberumānār, an officer in charge of Public works, 22.

Tiruveṇṇāḍaiyan, son of Tallapākkam Periya Tirumalai Aiyangar, 285.

Tiruveṭṭuvar, a pavilion, 274.

Tōḻappāchārya, 317.

Tōḻappar, 277.

Tolkāppiyam, 412-13.

Toṇḍamān, ruler, organisation of worship by, 392.

Toṇḍamān Rāja, 420.

Toppūr, battle of, 342.

Tōppu Tirunāḷ, a festival, 20.

Tṛtīya Bṛahmatantrasvāmi, 169, 184.

Tukya Saheb, 503, 509.

Tuḷuvas, Vaishnava dominance during the days of the, 157; Tuḷuva Vengaḷu Nāyaka, father of Śrī Ranga Nāyaka, 227.

Tumbichchi Nāyaka, 268, 299.

Tuppākki Krishṇappa, 474, 475.

U

Udayagiri Rājya, 129.

Uḍaiyavar, (Rāmānuja) 46, 56, 230.

Ūḷiyam Ellappa Nāyaka, 221.

V

Vaḍakalai, origin of the, 167.

Vaḍamalai, Tirupati, 161.

Vādirāja, a Madhva Pontiff, 230.

Vaibhava Prakāśika, of Doḍḍayāchārya, a biography of Vēdānta Dēśika, 130, 182.

Vaikhānasa *sūtra*, 196.

Vaishṇavas, split among the, 167.

Vallabhayyadēva Mahārāja, a chief, 11.

Vānamāmalai Jīyar, 258, 276.

Vaṉ Śaṭakōpa Aḻagiya Maṇavāla Rāmanuja Jīyar, superintendent of the temple, 320.

Vaṉ Śaṭagōpa Jīyar, 50, 56, 94, 138, 244, 245; account of, 76-81.

Vaṉ Śaṭagōpa *maṭha*, 84, 87, 128, 220, 244, 332.

Varadāchārya (Nayinārāchārya), a son of Vēdānta Dēśika, 172, 188.

Varadāji Amman, (Varadāmba), 205, 207, 211, 212, 231.

Vāyu Purāṇa, provision for the reading of, 324.

Vēdāntāchārya, same as Doḍḍaiyangar Appai, 130.

Vēdāntāchārya, same as Appāvaiyangār, son of Prativādi Bhayankaram Aṇṇa 125, 239.

Vēdānta Dēśika, and Tallapākkam family, 168, 181, 237, 422; and Tirupati, 169-172, 182–190; Vaibhava Prakāśika, a biography of, 130.

Vēdānta Śaṭagōpa Jīyar, 271.

Vēdapurāṇam, 267.

Venkāpuram Rāyasam Hariyappa, 281.

Venkaṭa, 337, 338, 340, 444, 445, 461, 462, 481, 485, 537; successor of Rāma, 312, 349; and the foundation of Madras, 460.

Venkaṭa I, 118.

Vēnkaṭāchala Itihāsamāla, 395, 397, 418.

Venkaṭādri, Prince, 263, 305.

Venkaṭapati, 327, 335, 440, 441, 459, 478.

Venkaṭapati, divided interests in the reign of, 448–450.

Venkaṭapatidēva, a younger brother of Śrīranga, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322.

Venkaṭapatirāja, son of Tirumala, 309, 310–312, 342, 374, 375, 381.

Venkaṭapatirāya, death of, in 1614, 342.

Vēnkaṭēśvara Māhātmyam, 267.

Vēnkaṭēśvarāya Namaḥ, the legend on the Vijayanagar coins, 322.

Vidvatsabhā Rāya Ranjakam, a title of Śrī Rangarāya, 210; a title of Uddukuppāyi, 217.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 479

Vikrama Chōḷa, 415.

Vimāna, at Tirupati, guilding of, 117, 118.

Vīra Ballāḷa III, 378, 379, 380 397.

Vīrabhadra, Gajapati Prince, 114.

Vīra Narasimha, 143, 200; and his war efforts, 104; reign of, 82–95; usurpation of 98–99, and Krishṇadēvarāya, 101, 102

Vīra Narasimha Yādavarāya, 397.

Vīra Narasingarāya, 283.

Vīra Sōmēśvara, 377, 379.

Virūpāksha, 105; sons of, overthrown by Sāḷuva Narasimha, 35.

Visvanātha Nāyaka of Madura, 204, 302.

Viṭṭalarāja, a cousin of Rāmarāja, 287.

Viṭṭalasvāmi temple, construction of, 156.

Viṭṭalēśvara, of Āravīḍu, son of Timmarāja and grandson of Rāma Rāja, 267.

Vyāsarāya, 76, 81, 191–99, 203; absence of reference to Tirupati during the Sāḷuva days, 95, 134–36.

Vyāsarāya Maṭha, 135, 271, 406.

Vyāsayōgi, 320.

Vyāsayōgicharitam by Sōmanātha Kavi, 81, 191, 199, 203.

W

Wallajah, 530.

Wellesley, 535.

X

Xavier, Father, 288.

Y

Yāchama Nāyaka, 311, 338, 346, 442, 443.

Yādavarāja, 394, 419.

Yādavarāyas, patronage of the, to the Vaishṇava *Āchārya*, 141, 142, 143 ; and Tirupati, 394, 418, 429.

Yamunaitturaivar Maṇṭapam, 231.

Yatirāja, 341, 443.

Yatirāja Jīyar Kandaḍai Aṇṇaiyangar, Manager of the temple of Emberumānār, 45, 58.

Yatirājasaptati, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 182, 422.

Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshita, son of Ranganātha Dīkshita, 133, 152.

Yegñanārāyaṇa Dīkshitar, son of Rangā Dīkshitar, 124.

Z

Zulfikar Khan, 495, 496, 539

Catalogue of Publications
OF
Tirumalai - Tirupati Devasthanams.

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs.	A.	P.
1.	**Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam.** Hindi language. Volumes I and II. It contains many tricoloured and half tone illustrations of Lord Venkateswara. 731 and 642 Pages. (Calico bound) ...	2	0	0 (per vol.)
2.	**Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam** (Sanskrit) Devanagarilipi type. 395 pages in loose sheets ...	1	0	0
3.	**Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam** Sanskrit language in Telugu script. It is in Sanskrit language in Telugu characters. This is an old compilation of chapters on Venkatachala Mahatmyam from twelve puranas. This volume contains also Sri Venkatesa Sahasranama, Suvarna-Mukhari-Mahatmiya and Lakshmi Sthuthi. 584 pages. Calico bound ...	1	8	0
4.	**Marichi Samhitha** alias **Vimanarchana kalpa.** Sanskrit in Devanagari characters. This rare old work deals with the Vaikhanasa rules and rites in the			

construction of temples and worship of various Gods. Marichi one of the four great authorities of Vaikhanasa school of ritual is the author. This work gives much insight into the origin of temples, their architecture. etc.,
522 pages. Calico bound ... 1 8 0

5. **Sri Venkateswara Sthuthi.** Sanskrit language in Telugu characters
A collection of 24 stotras on Lord Venkateswara compiled from Sri Venkatachala Mahatmyam.
60 pages ... 0 8 0

6. **Sri Venkateswara Ithihasamala.** Sanskrit language in Devanagiri script, with an English foreword.
Edited by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. It was composed in the 12th century A.D. during the time of Yadavaraya kings.
187 pages ... 1 0 0

7. **A History of Tirupati** Volume I. (English)
By Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. It deals with the history of the Holy Shrine of

Sri Venkatesa in Tirupati and contains 17 illustrations.
490 pages. Calico Bound. ...

T. T. Devasthanam Epigraphical Series (English).

8. **Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report.** English. With an introduction by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, University Professor,

It contains an historical survey of the religious rites of worship, ablutions, oblations and festivals in the temples of the Devasthanam and a critical historical account of the kings of the different ancient dynasties of South India, their provincial chiefs and administrative officers, religious teachers and other prominent personages of those times based on the inscriptions copied from the Prakara walls of the temples. It also contains 60 photographic views of temples, processional images, waterfalls and plates of inscriptions and statutes of certain Vijayanagara kings.
366 pages, Calico bound ... 4 0 0

9. **Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions. Volume I.** Comprising Tamil text and English translation of earlier inscriptions of the Devasthanam collection of the

		Rs.	A.	P.
	time of the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and the first dynasty of Vijayanagara kings dated between 800 and 1450 A.D. prefixed with short critical historical introduction in English for the different dynasties represented, including the Gandagopalas and the Yadavarayas. 273 pages. Calico bound ...	3	0	0
10.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions. Volume II.** Comprising the text and English translations of the inscriptions of Devasthanam Collections of the time of Saluva Narasimha of Vijayanagara Empire. From 1445 to 1504 A.D. 380 pages Calico bound ...	3	0	0
11.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions. Volume III.** Comprising the text and English translation of the inscriptions of Devasthanam collections of the time of the Emperor Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara. From 1509 to 1530 A.D. 419 pages. Calico bound ...	3	0	0
12.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions. Volume IV.** Comprising the text and English translation of the inscriptions of Devasthanam collections of the time of King Achyutharaya of Vijayanagara. From 1530 to 1542 A.D. 403 pages. Calico Bound ...	3	0	0

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs. A. P.
13.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions. Volume V.** Comprising the text and English translation of the inscriptions of the Devasthanam collections of the time of King Sadasivaraya of Vijayanagara. From 1541 to 1574 A.D. 510 pages. Calico bound ...	3 0 0
14.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions Volume VI. (Part I)** Comprising the text and English translation of the inscriptions of Devasthanam collections of the time of Tirumalaraya Venkatapatiraya and other kings of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara and later times. From 1561 to 1908 A.D. 276 pages. Calico bound ...	3 0 0
15.	**Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions Volume VI (Part II)** Epigraphical glossary containing genealogical tables, Index, names, list of donors with a summary of donations etc., relating to Volumes I to VI. 415 pages. Calico bound. ...	3 0 0

T. T. Devasthanams Tallapakkam Series. (Poetical works of Tallapakkam poets in Telugu).

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs. A. P.
16.	**Minor works.** (Volume I.) Telugu. It comprises eleven minor works written by Tallapakkam poets of 15th and 16th centuries. 156 pages. Stiff cover bound ...	0 12 0

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs. A. P.
17.	**Adyatma Sankeerthanalu.** (Volume II.) Telugu by Tallapakkam Annamachar-. yulu (1408 to 1503 A. D.) containing 406 Sankeerthanas. 278 pages. Stiff cover bound. ...	1 8 0
18.	**Sringara Sankeerthanalu** (Volume III. Telugu.) By Tallapakkam Annamachar-yulu containing about 600 Sankeertha-nams. 454 pages. Stiff cover bound. ...	2 0 0
19.	**Asthamahishi Kalyanam.** Telugu. By Tallapakkam Tiruvengalanatha (Chinna Tirumalayyangar). (1498 to 1561 A.D.) It contains the description of the marriage of Sri Krishna with the eight queens. 334 pages. Stiff cover bound ...	1 8 0

T. T. D. Publications—*continued.*

(Miscellaneous).

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs. A. P.
20.	**Devasthanam Panchangams.** Telugu. It contains the dates of the several festivals and asthanams, and the rates of the several sevas in all the temples under the T. T. Devasthanams ...	0 2 0
21.	**Devasthanam Calendars** ...	0 1 0

S. No.	Name of the publication and description.	Cost. Rs.	A	P.
22.	**Tricoloured pictures of Lord Venkateswara.**			
	$7\frac{1}{2}''$ x $10''$ size. ordinary ...	0	2	0
	do. gilded ...	0	2	0
	do. Viswarupam (gilded) ...	0	2	0
23.	**Album containing Pictures of Tirumalai Sri Venkateswaraswamivari Brahmotsavam.** Contains 25 Photographic views printed on art paper. Calico Bound ...	1	4	0

In the Press.

1. **Tirumalai—Tirupati Yathra (Telugu)** By Sri M. Gopalachari, B.A. A guide to pilgrims visiting Tirumalai and Tirupati. Contains views of the several deities, temples, waterfalls etc., in Tirupati and Tirumalai.

For Copies apply to :—

THE COMMISSIONER,
T. T. DEVASTHANAMS,
TIRUPATI, (Chittoor District.)
SOUTH INDIA.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In the course of this Volume we have had to recur several times to the composite character of the image of Śrī Venkatēśa at Tirupati, and certain features characteristic of Śiva found on it. These features have been referred to in detail by the early Āḻvārs; but all the Āḻvārs more or less regarded these features as forming part of the image of Viṣṇu designed for Tirupati. This idea that Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, though of two separate forms, are one in substance and that the form of the one (Rudra) is found in the other is stated in stanza 98 of the first Centum of Poigai Āḻvār in* Iyaṟpā *of of the Prabandha, 4,000. The same idea is contained in Chapter 350 of the Śānti Parva, Mōkṣadharma, of the Mahābhārata. Reference may particularly be made to* Ślōkas *26 and 27† which are set down below for ready reference. The idea of the oneness of Rudra with Nārāyaṇa is also enforced in a subsequent Chapter, Chapter 352 of*

---

* See the quotation at foot of p. 65, Vol. I.

† प्रमाणानि हि पूज्यानि ततस्तं पूजयाम्यहं ।
यस्तं वेत्ति स मां वेत्ति यो नु तं स हि मामनु ॥
रुद्रो नारायणश्चैव सत्त्वमेकं द्विधा कृतं ।
लोके चरति कौन्तेय व्यक्तिस्थं सर्वकर्मसु ॥

the same book, particularly the latter part of the Chapter. This shows that the idea had currency at one time, and that its elaboration in the work of Nammāḻvār had authority to support it. The Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata has been regarded by some as an interpolation; but that is a large question for taking up for discussion here. By about the 5th or the 6th century A. D., the Mahābhārata came to be known generally as a work of one hundred thousand Ślōkas, Śatasāhasrī, *and this description cannot exclude the Śānti Parva as a whole. Anyhow, the statement in the Mahābhārata would certainly be interesting in this connection and is referred to here for what it is worth, as evidence of the prevalence of this general opinion among the Viṣṇu Bhaktas certainly.*

CORRECTION.

Vol. I, page 218, 16th line beginning "This is a Prākrit charter" *should read*:—"This is a Prākrit charter issued in the reign of Mahārāja Vijaya Skandavarman by Chārudēvi, wife of Yuva Mahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyankura". The three lines, 17, 18 and 19, will have to be *deleted*, and this sentence *read* instead.